DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 298 039 SO 019 244

AUTHOR Rutkowski, Edward, Ed.
TITLE Papers and Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society (10th, Chicago, Illinois, October 25-26, 1974).
INSTITUTION Midwest History of Education Society, Cedar Falls, IA.
PUB DATE 75
NOTE 133p.; For related documents, see SO 019 242-257.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society; v3 1975

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; *Educational Change; *Educational History; *Educational Philosophy; Educational Strategies; Historiography; Immigrants; Learning Theories; *Religious Education; Research Design; Research Methodology
IDENTIFIERS Indiana (New Harmony); *Owen (Robert); Quakers; Roman Catholic Church; *Utopia

ABSTRACT

The proceedings papers include topics on educational reform and intellectuals, religious education, immigrants, and the history of education as a discipline. The theme of an Editor's Supplement is utopianism and education, and the papers deal with Robert Owen. These three papers are reprinted from the 1973 meeting of the National History of Education Society. "The Origins of the Roman Catholic Cathechesis in the United States (1776-1799)" (C. J. Carmondy) traces the origins and the incorporation of religious education (cathechesis). "'Be Still and Know!': Quaker Silence and Dissenting Educational Ideals, 1740-1812" (J. Hendricks) relates the roles of the jeremiad, silence, and religious education on Quakerism and the visible contradictions of Quaker beliefs and lifestyle. "Brook Farm: A Lesson in Cooperative Education" (C. E. Alberti) presents the social and religious factors that led to the experiment's formation and describes the school's teachers, students, and curriculum. "A Study of Four Northern European Immigrant People and the Assimilation Process: Some Current Observations" (F. C. Nelsen) studies Germans, Dutch, Swedes, and Norwegians in relation to their views on acculturation. Under the heading "The History of Education: Past, Present, and Future", the first paper, "History of Education Today" (C. H. Gross) introduces the topic while discussing its validity as a course of study. "History of Education in the Future: Obsolescence or Relevance" (A. Peters) offers six methods of interpreting history and presents Michael A. MacDanield's Seven Change Factors as a concise model for dealing with continuity and change. "Outline of a Model for American Educational Historiography" (W. R. Stephens) is a proposed conceptual model to help clarify research methodology. The first paper in the Editor's Supplement, "Millennialism and Education: The Case of Robert Owen" (R. G. Clouse), discusses the history and biblical interpretations for millennialism and Owen's personal interpretation that he employed at the New Lanark school. "Robert Owen's New Harmony Community: An Example of Communitarian Education" (G. L. Gutek) presents his philosophy on community, the family, and education. Finally, "A House Divided: Robert Owen and William Maclure at New Harmony" (C. Burgess) describes the conflict that arose over each man's educational theory and communitarian views. The meeting's proceedings, business meeting's minutes, and a list of attendees are included. (DJC)

ED298039

JOURNAL OF THE MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

- ☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
- ☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Vol. 3, 1975

Contents include

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
EDWARD KUTKOWSKI
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

papers by
Rev. Charles J. Carmondy
James D. Hendricks
Frank C. Nelsen
Charles E. Alberti
Gerald L. Gutek
Charles Burgess
Robert G. Clouse

together with
a panel presentation by
Carl H. Gross
Adelia Peters
W. Richard Stevens

and the program of the Tenth Annual Meeting

Published by

College of Education
University of Northern Iowa Cedar Falls

LB 1614 .J44

Distributed and Published for the Society by the

College of Education

University of Northern Iowa

Cedar Falls, Iowa

Copyright 1975 by the Midwest History

of Education Society

Edited by

Edward Rutkowski, University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa

Any subscription or inquiries should be sent to the
Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society
Education Center, Room 513
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613

EDITOR'S FORWARD

We are now in our tenth year as a learned society and this is the third edition of our scholarly publication. In a period of rising costs and uncertain conditions we are fortunate to be able to continue meeting and publishing our efforts. This year we have been able to improve our publication and there is an increasing interest in it by the academic community. This happy state of events will help us to continue this important outlet for our scholarly endeavors.

We are exceedingly delighted about the quality of the contributions in this edition. A scholar who is interested in the problems of utopianism and education will discover a new wealth of historical research and important insights into this perennial educational question. All of the individual papers deal with United States, the visions of reformers, intellectuals, religious, and immigrants and their struggles to develop life styles that would be compatible to their dream of the good life in the new world.

From our presentations at the fall meeting we are publishing some exciting papers. Two papers deal with religious concerns, the Catholic development of catechetical instruction and the Quaker's theological disputes during the period of the American Revolution, and the establishment of the new Republic. Another paper deals with the educational aspects of Brooks Farms, the social experiment of the Transcendentalists. The final paper, by Frank Nelson is a provocative discussion in defense of the melting pot theory of American immigration, which has been the focus of criticism by recent revisionist educational historians.

Continuing our editorial policy we are publishing three papers on the topic of Utopianism and Education which was presented as a symposium at the 1973 meeting of the National History of Education Society. This symposium chaired by Gerald Gutek includes papers by Robert Clouse, and Charles Burgess on Robert Owens and the New Harmony experiment.

At this historic tenth meeting we had a very fine panel presentation on the state of history of education as a discipline presented by Adelia Peters, Carl Gross and W. Richard Stephens which has some cogent remarks about the nature and future of our field. Included, also, are some innovative ideas for the teaching of educational history.

For the first time we have been able to publish all the presented papers and the proceedings of the meeting. Again, as always we wish to thank Loyola University and our friends there for their continued very tangible support. To my own institution, for their assistance in publishing the journal. In conclusion, to the members in society who have helped in getting our annual publication started and whose very substantial aid have contributed to its steady growth.

Edward Rutkowski
Editor

CONTENTS

PART I

PAPERS

THE ORIGINS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATECHESIS IN THE UNITED STATES (1776–1799)
by Rev. Charles J. Carmondy 1

"BE STILL AND KNOW": QUAKER SILENCE AND DISSENTING EDUCATIONAL IDEALS, 1740–1812
by James Hendricks 14

BROOK FARM: A LESSON IN COOPERATIVE EDUCATION
by Charles E. Alberti 41

A STUDY OF FOUR NORTHERN EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT PEOPLE AND THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS: SOME CURRENT OBSERVATIONS
by Frank C. Nelsen 54

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE
a panel presentation
History of Education Today – Carl H. Gross 71
History of Education in the Future: Obsolescence or Relevance
Adelia M. Peters 77
Outline of A Model For American Educational Historiography
W. Richard Stephens 83

PART II

EDITOR'S SUPPLEMENT

UTOPIANISM AND EDUCATION

MILLENNIALISM AND EDUCATION, THE CASE OF ROBERT OWEN
by Robert G. Clouse 89
ROBERT OWEN'S NEW HARMONY COMMUNITY: AN EXAMPLE OF COMMUNITARIAN EDUCATION
by Gerald L. Gutek 100

A HOUSE DIVIDED: ROBERT OWEN AND WILLIAM MACLURE AT NEW HARMONY
by Charles Burgess 110

PART III

PROCEEDINGS

OFFICIAL PROGRAM 123
BUSINESS MEETING AND ELECTION OF NEW OFFICERS 125
DIRECTORY OF ATTENDANCE 126

PART I

PAPERS

THE ORIGINS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATECHESIS IN THE UNITED STATES (1776-1799)

by Rev. Charles J. Carmondy Loyola University, Chicago

Thought in order to be communicated must be expressed. Aside from the possibilities of extrasensory perception, it must be done in some sense-perceptible form. This can be accomplished by a word, a gesture, or more complexly with highly developed formulae. Techniques of expression can, of course, be single or multisensory. Yet, whatever the method, ideas to be communicated successfully must be so formulated and directed as to be understood by the person(s) for whom they are intended. Certainly then, the form and content of a thought's expression must be greatly determined by the capacities of the "hearer" to receive it. This is frequently spoken of in educational literature, most particularly in the preparation of teachers, where "grading" material and providing for "individual differences" are greatly stressed. Even so, "communications" or more directly "getting-across-the-idea" remains a most vexing problem. We frequently hear "lack of communication," "cultural bias," and even "gobbledegook" charged against the most important and, presumably, carefully planned educational efforts. *E contra*, criticisms are often made that content has been eroded through excessive concern for methodology. While the need, then, to communicate successfully is vital to the transmission of ideas, not even the most strenuous and well-intentioned efforts are guaranteed of success. There is often conflict between the message and its medium, but both are equally necessary.

All this is no less true of a religion's attempts to present its content. The literatures of the great world religions endeavor to communicate ideas in many different forms. Sometimes the message, primitively expressed, comes through clearly even for the most simply furnished intelligences; in other instances, definitions, multiple commentaries, and forms of simplification are needed before some nuclear religious thought and/or its elaborations can be adequately grasped. Therefore, religious literature almost universally shows diversity and development. But, whatever genres are employed, religions have this in common: they offer a message for comprehension and acceptance. How this message can be effectively presented to achieve these desired out-comes, often in very diverse groupings, is the specific ongoing task of *religious education*. Religious educators, therefore, must have a primary interest in materials.

In 1974, when we speak of religious education within the Judaeo-Christian context, we speak of an enterprise that has continued for well over three millenia--a vast span of time in which content has been communicated through a goodly number of methodologies under the discipline of a complexity of aims. There is a very long history here, but a number of studies have been made charting the progress of many periods in the great epoch.

As we approach the bi-centennial of our national existence, many aspects of the American experience are being examined in their origins. Accordingly, this paper proposes to set forth the origins of the Roman Catholic Catechesis[1] in the United States to the extent that this writer's research has been able to uncover them.

The Colonial Catechesis

The earliest monuments of the Catechesis in North America are understandably Spanish and French.[2] Acknowledging this prior Catholic presence, it must be said that the American Church, as it is presently constituted, grew from that small nucleus of Roman Catholics that settled in the English colonies.[3]

The Catholic Church entered the English colonies formally with Lord Baltimore in 1634; in that year, the London Jesuits established in Maryland what they called the "American mission." From the beginnings of the colony, Catholics formed a minority in the total number of settlers. In this original charge to his colonists, the proprietor warned his coreligionists to be most circumspect discussing or practicing their religion so as not to offend or disturb the Protestant majority.[4] Great care was also exercised in the early years of the colony not to set off anti-Catholic antagonism in nearby Virginia.

Nonetheless, the early Jesuits openly offered Mass, dispensed the sacraments, received converts, reconciled the lapsed, and attempted to Catholicize the Indians. In 1638, one of those early Jesuits, perhaps Father Andrew White, reported all these activities to his superiors in London, adding that as far as the colony's Catholics were concerned "the more ignorant have been catechized and Catechetical Lectures have been delivered for the more advanced every Sunday".[5]

To implement their instructional program in English, the Maryland priests would have had to fall back on what was available in England or from the English centers on the continent. At first, they would have had Vaux[6] and other early recusant catechisms.[7] Undoubtedly, they, as Jesuits, would have made extensive use of the "englished" editions of Canisius, Bellarmine, and Ledesma.[8] After 1649, they would have been able to use the Doway Catechism presumably authored by Henry Turberville;[9] after 1682, the Doway *Abstract;*[10] then by 1686 and beyond, a revised *abstract*,[11] a new edition of the Catechism of the Council of Trent,[12] John Gother's various Instructions[13] and finally, in the 1700's, several editions of the *Abridgement of Christian Doctrine*,[14] plus Mannock's very popular *Poor Man's Catechism.*[15]

The Institution of the Catechesis in the United States

After a very confused situation regarding just who had canonical jurisdiction over Catholics in the English colonies and later in the thirteen United States,[16] the Holy See appointed Father John Carroll Prefect Apostolica and "head of the missions in the provinces of the new Republic of the United States of North America."[17] In spite of the strong native American fear of "prelacy," Carroll was consecrated first Roman Catholic Bishop of the United States, in England, some five years later, choosing Baltimore as his see city. The subject of catechetical materials was one of the first matters submitted to the judgement of the American Prefect.

In a series of letters (1784-86), Father Robert J. Molyneaux, pioneer Catholic publisher in the United States, reported to Carroll on his printing activity in Philadelphia.[18] It can be safely asserted that in the final decades of the colonial period and the early years of the national period, Catholics had more freedom in Quaker Pennsylvania, generally, than in any other of the twelve jurisdictions. Significantly, this included freedom to publish. In the letters cited above, Molyneaux shows himself to have been greatly interested in providing instructional and devotional literature for the children and adults of the nascent American Church. From the often cryptic references of his correspondence and further investigation, we are able to discern what catechetical materials he had published from *ca.* 1773 to 1786. As far as can be determined, the Molyneaux publications represent the first United States imprints of Roman Catholic *catechetica*. They are important not only for this reason, but also because they came to form the basis of Roman Catholic religious instruction in the United States for almost the next 200 years.

Molyneaux reminded the American Prefect, John Carroll, that he had published the little *A Short Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* some years previously (*ca.* 1777-?) through the Philadelphia printer Robert Bell.[19] He had printed it now again in 1785 and was in the process of publishing it yet again as an appendix for a primmer he was producing. None of these imprints are known to be extant, but Evans, in his *American Bibliography*, lists the data of Molyneaux's primmer-catechism:

> **The Roman Catholic Primer, to which is added with approbation, a short abridgement of Christian Doctrine with a short daily exercise; also further instructions, from the French Catechism of John Joseph Languet, formerly Archbishop of Sens.** Philadelphia: Printed and sold by W. Spotwood, Frontstreet, between Market and Chestnut Streets. 1786.[20]

It is practically certain that Molyneaux's edition of *A Short Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* is preserved in extant catechisms bearing almost the same title but characterized as the twelfth (1793), thirteenth (1795), and fourteenth (1798) editions.[21]

All these imprints of the American *Short Abridgement* assert that they have been published "with approbation." Since Carroll was the proper authority to give this *imprimatur*, the text came to be known as the "Carroll Catechism." Later on, some thought, erroneously, that he had actually put it together. A number of contemporary scholars also judge this to be the case. The fact is that Archbishop Carroll composed nothing in the way of a catechism; neither did he do any compiling nor abridging; nor any active selecting of catechetical materials. A unit by unit examination of the so-called "Carroll Catechism," by the present writer, showed, it is nothing other than a reprint of the English *An Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* as revised by Bishop Richard Challoner for use "in the London District" in 1772.[22] There are only the most minute differences in the text itself. "Carroll" however,

includes a "fuller instruction on the Holy Eucharist and Communion from the French Catechism of John Joseph Languet formerly Archbishop of Sens."[23] The inclusion of this material from the writings of the anti-Jansenist prelate Jean-Joseph Languet de Villeneuve de Gergy, Archbishop of Sens (1730-50) and formerly of Soisson, is significant, in that it contravenes the strictures of Jansenist piety against the frequent reception of Holy Communion.[24] Its addition to the "Carroll Catechism," compiled by the Anglo-American Molyneaux, reflects the historic Jesuit reaction against Jansenism and its piety; it further evidences that from the beginnings of its organized life (and really prior to it) the dominant thrust in the American Catholic Church has been in the direction of frequent Holy Communion. This thrust has been included in all the major American Catholic catechisms. The "Carroll Catechism" with the Languet additions became the primary component in the American Catholic Catechetical tradition. It was reprinted again and again in its own form and became the nucleus of the later major catechisms of the American Catechesis.

In his letters to Carroll, Molyneaux indicates that he had also printed, or at least stocked, what was to become the immensely popular catechism of the controversial Irish Archbishop of Cashel (1774-1791), James Butler II.[25] Molyneaux's edition is not extant but Butler was reprinted again and again in the United States up to 1850 and well beyond under this title:

> **The Most Rev. Dr. James Butler's Catechism, Revised, Enlarged, Approved, and Recommended by the Four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland as a General Catechism for the Kingdom. To Which Is Added the Scriptural Catechism of Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner.**[26]

Since one of Carroll's principal duties as Prefect was to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation, he evidently asked Molyneaux to provide some preparation-material for confirmands. In 1786, the Philadelphia publisher informed Carroll that he was sending him 500 copies of the "Instruction for Confirmation," which indicates Molyneaux may have printed additional material from the catechism of Languet or more probably something from the writings of John Gother (d. 1704). Unfortunately the imprint is not extant.[27]

While "Carroll," Butler and the "Instruction for Confirmation" were basic materials or what were called "little" catechisms, Father Molyneaux was also anxious to provide materials for adult education through "large" catechisms. Several times in his letters to Carroll, he asked the Prefect's support on this latter project. He explained that, in his experience, Catholics did not buy religious works as they should, "being content to borrow and read someone else's copy." Actually, Molyneaux had a relatively small potential for sale. It is generally thought that in 1785 there were only 25,000 Catholics in a total United States population of close to 4,000,000. At any rate, Molyneaux succeeded in his hopes to produce large catechisms.

His first large catechism was a scriptural work translated and adapted by the English Jesuit Joseph Reeve, first published in London in 1780:

> **The History of the Old and New Testaments, Interspersed with Moral and Instructive Reflections, Chiefly Taken from the Holy Fathers. From the French. By J. Reeve.** The Third Edition. Philadelphia: Printed by M. Steiner, in Race-Street. For C. Talbot, late of Dublin, Printer and Bookseller, 1784.[28]

Further investigation by the present writer discovered that it was reprinted in eleven editions up to 1901 by various United States Catholic publishers. Before 1840, it was the principal text used in the biblical education of American Catholics and remained influential in that respect to the end of the century.

Molyneaux also provided a liturgical catechism authored by the then late distinguished Vicar Apostolic of London, Dr. Richard Challoner:

> **The Catholik Christian Instructed in the Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies, and Observances of the Church. By Way of Question and Answer.** By the late Rt. Rev. R. Challoner, D.D. Philadelphia Printed by and for C. Talbot in Front Street, Editor of Reeve's History of the Bible, 1786.[29]

Considering the paramount importance of liturgy in Roman Catholicism, it is surprising that the major catechisms of English-speaking Catholics have generally contained no liturgical catecheses, as have the French catechisms for instance. Challoner's work, listed above, was the principal supplement used to fill this lacuna in the religious education of American Catholics up to the 1900's.[30]

Father Molyneaux left Philadelphia for Maryland in 1788. In 1796 he became the second president of Georgetown College and in 1805 the first superior of the restored Society of Jesus in the United States. Catholic publishing continued, however, at Philadelphia after his departure. Further material for adult religious education was provided in the reprinting of a work by one of Challoner's younger contemporaries, Rt. Rev. Dr. John Hornyhold, first printed at London in 1749. For some time it was thought to be the work of Challoner and the first American edition of Hornyhold's book carried this confusion:

> **The True Principles of a Catholic by Bishop Challoner [sic]. To Which Is Added an Exposition of the Commandments.** Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1789.[31]

By the late 1790's the Anglo-American composition of the Catholic Church in the United States began to change. For various reasons, which are well known, French, French-Canadian, Irish, and German immigrants, increased the Catholic communion here and their religious education needs had to be met. Two new catechisms were published in this period to meet these needs:

Catéchisme ou abrégé de la foi Catholique. Publié par ordre de Mgr. L'Archevêque de Paris pour le fideles de son diocése et enseigné dans les Missions des Religi PP. Capucins aux isles sous le vent de l'Amerique. Baltimore: De L'Imprimerie de S. Sower. Rue de Fayette, pas loin de la rue de Hanard. 1796.[32]

Katechetischer Unterrict für die Christl. Katholische Jugend. Herausgegeben von Fridericus Caesarious Rueter Katholischer Priester der Deutchen in Baltimore. Baltimore: Gedrückt bey Samuel Saur, 1979.[33]

Additional material was furnished the American Catechesis by the Abbe' Rene' Houdet, who ministered to the French-émigré community in Philadelphia during 1795-96:

A Treatise on Morality, Chiefly designed for the Instruction of Youth. Translated by Michael Fortune. Printed for the author by T. Dobson, No. 41, S. Secard Street. 1796.[34]

It seems never to have been reprinted but, from the relatively large number of extant copies, this one edition seems to have had a large distribution.

Initial Legislation and Theory of the American Catechesis

Bishop Carroll convoked the First National Synod of the American Catholic Church at Baltimore in 1791.[35] Among the many matters discussed and canonized there, the discipline of the Catechesis was one. The initial legislation required that both ongoing and specialized religious instruction be given American Catholics. The Statues of 1791 emphasize the need of concentrated religious instruction before First Communion with stress on Penance (No. 10) and before Marriage (No. 15). They also require that the Gospel be read in the vernacular and an instructional sermon be given on each Sunday and feast day (No. 17). After Mass, the principal prayers and Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity are to be recited aloud by the entire congregation (No. 18). After this, the children and the "unlearned" are to stay for "catechism," when they are to be "questioned and instructed" on the principal points of the Faith (Nos. 18), but in parishes with more than one priest, "catechistic instruction" may be given in the afternoon following Vespers. Bishop Carroll complemented this legislation in his first pastoral letter to American Catholics (1792) by strongly urging the regular Christian instruction of boys and girls, calling it "a primary object of pastoral solicitude."[36]

The present author has been able to find no statement of catechetical theory or methodology made for the American Catechesis in this initial period. Neither could he find one relative to the catechization of Roman Catholics in England and Ireland. This is not surprising, of course, since the British crown still enforced the penal laws against "papists." Since most clerical and educated lay Catholics living under

the crown were schooled (albeit illegally) in France, it seems safe to say that French catechetical methodology pre-vailed in the English-speaking Catechesis during the penal period.[37] At any rate, however, both Protestant and Catholic religious educators followed the same catechetical theory in this *era of the catechism.*

Crash programs of popular religious education characterized first Protestant and then Catholic efforts in the struggles of Reform and Counter-Reform. From the latter 1500's, the question/answer catechism with comprehensive memorization of the text became the classical basis and technique of Christian religious education for almost the next 400 years. It was an era in which *Catechesis* and *Catechism* were convertible terms.

During the bulk of this era, the vast majority of religious educators, both Protestant and Catholic, regarded the catechism as an absolutely necessary tool in which the orthodox formulations of creed, code, and cult were drawn together and presented in one catechetical package. They also generally affirmed that comprehensive memorization of the catechismal text was likewise essential; such would show the student had truly studied the material, had made it more fully his own, and, for this reason, could be expected to understand it more completely. If the student did not always understand the memorized material immediately, he would retain it *with review* and come to understand it more fully in his more mature years. Given such a uniform and greatly developed religious curriculum and text in the same instrument, the function of the catechist was largely to present the question/answer units for memorization, call for their oral recitation, and later institute their review. The catechist need not be a particularly learned nor skillful teacher. The catechist could be aided in this central task by parents, other members of the family, older students, etc., who would "hear the catechism." It was always hoped that the catechist would understand the material and be able to offer explanation of it to the catechized, but in the classical system of instructing by catechism, the emphasis was on accurate memorization and retention of the catechismal text by the student with the assurance that the greater his knowledge of religious truth, the more religious he could be expected to be personally. In that era of grave theological disagreement between Christians, the catechism also gave an *apologia* for faith and practice and was breastwork of defence in a polemical milieu. One can see, then, the essential role of the catechism in this 400 year span of religious education. One can also understand the urgency felt by Father Molyneaux and others to produce catechisms that could be put into the hands of the catechists and the catechized--so much of religious welfare depended on this. Christian religious educators continued to use the catechism and the classical methodology well into the present century.

Content of the Initial Materials

The basic catechisms listed above set forth and expound the Apostles Creed, the ten commandments, and the seven sacraments. They also

explain prayer, particularly the Lord's Prayer. They list the Beatitudes, the Evangelical Counsels, the Spiritual and Corporal Works of Mercy, the Gifts and Fruits of the Holy Ghost, the Last Things, etc. The French *Abrégé* contains liturgical catecheses; the others do not, obviously depending on Challoner's *Catholik Christian Instructed* to do this. The "Carroll" Catechism contains fewer references to Sacred Scripture than the *Abrégé*, relying on Reeve for this.

Recently, a number of studies have been made on the serious problem of inculcating religious prejudice against other groups by in-group religious education materials. The materials discussed in this paper are generally free of this. They are not really polemical nor openly argumentative. They give the Catholic position simply and straight-forwardly; they answer classical objections; they indoctrinate positively, not negatively. No personally detrimental statements against non-Catholic are to be found in them. They all treat the axiom "outside the Church there is no salvation," but they explain, at least implicitly, that good men who follow their own consciences will be saved, even if they are not Catholics. It is safe to say the Anglo-American Catholic apologetic was quite irenic, perhaps, necessarily so.

The same catechetical material is free of anti-semitic bias. In the American Catechesis, this problem has never really arisen in the catechisms. Bible history materials, however, create some difficulty. Reeve cannot be said to be anti-Semitic in any real sense. He does, however, in setting forth the ongoing conflict between Jesus and those who rejected him, consistently use the Johannine term "the Jews" to group all opposition to the Christ. He as those bible histories that followed him, never make it clear that most of those who accepted Jesus were Jews as well. Reeve attributes no special guilt to the Jews for the death of the Christ. He passes over that gospel-narrated incident of Pontius Pilate declaring himself innocent of the blood of Jesus and the Crowd responding "let his blood be on us and our children" (Matt. 27:25). Later bible histories used in the American Catechesis paused here to make comments explaining the dispersal and persecutions of the Jews as the result of their guilt in rejecting and crucifying the Christ. Reeve, however, does depict Pilate as an essentially good man who does not wish to condemn the innocent Jesus; but whose human weakness, fears, and ambition cause him to give in to Jewish pressure. Many Jewish scholars see very definite anti-Semitism in so characterizing the Roman procurator. This, of course, leads to the more fundamental question of how much anti-Semitism is there in the New Testament itself. All in all, however, the Anglo-American Catholic Catechesis can be said to have been irenic and positive in its attempts to catechize.

By 1800, the massive tide of European Catholic immigration began as a trickle. For the next 100 years or more, the American Catechesis would be faced with the many and varied problems of meeting the religious education needs of the burgeoning American Catholic Church. Time would show that Carroll, Molyneaux, and the early French and Germans had given a good and stable beginning.

Footnotes

1 "Catechesis," as used in this paper refers to the total process of Roman Catholic religious education. The Greek verb *Katechein* is used several times in the New Testament, actively and passively, in connection with Christian instruction (Lk. 1-4; Acts 25; I Cor. 14: 19; Gal. 6: 6; Rom. 6: 17; Heb. 6: 1-2). By the second century (*ca.* 150 A.D.), the noun form *katechesis* (instruction) had come to be used as the name of the increasingly formalized instruction given preparatory to the reception of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. Latin and vernacular forms of the verb and noun developed in later centuries, always preserving the meaning of "religious education." It is obvious that all our words with the stem "cate-" and referring to religious education come from *katechein*, ultimately.

2 What is thought to be the first book published in North America was a catechism. Cf. *Doctrina Breve in facsimile published in the City of Terrocktillian, Mexico, June, 1544* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1928). Some early seventeenth century catechetical material designed by the French Jesuits for use among the Algonquin tribes is also extant; cf. *Les voyage do Nouvelle France occidental dicte Canada faits par le sr. de Champlain [etc.]*. (Paris: C. Collet, 1632), Appendices.

3 The most comprehensive study of the Catholic Church in the English colonies is that of John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America* (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1963).

4 Cf. "Baron Baltimore's Instruction to His Colonists, November 13, 1633." *Documents of American Catholic History*, ed. by John Tracy Ellis (2. vols.; Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1967), I, 98-100.

5 Cf. "The English Jesuits Establish the Mission of Maryland, March-April, 1634," *ibid.*, 109. Catholics in Maryland, however, came to experience grave social and legal disabilities.

6 The first Roman Catholic question/answer catechism authored in English was the work of Laurence Vaux, deposed Warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester. Printed at Louvain in 1567, it has been published in a critical edition with many instructive notes; cf. Laurence Vaux, *A Catechisme or a Christian Doctrine Necessarie for Children and Ignorante People*, ed. by Thomas Graves Law (Manchester, England: Cetham Society, 1885). Data on Vaux can also be found in Gillow (as below in n. 7) and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX. Cf. also below, n. 8.

7 Other recusant catechisms were printed on the continent or secretly in England with false publication data. These include the works of M. George Douyle [pseud. of William Warford, SJ], printed in 1604 and those of Thomas White, "alias Blacklow" (1637), the English priests at Tournay College (1647), and Anthony Errington (1654). Data on these works and their authors can be found in Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History or Bibliographical History or Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics from the Breach with Rome in 1534 to the Present Time*. (5 vols.; London: Burns and Oates, 1885-1902). (Hereinafter cited as *Dictionary*) The use of pseudonyms was often thought necessary to avoid reprisals by Crown officers. White and Errington were examined by the present writer at Newberry Library (Chicago). The Tournay Catechism was examined on microfilm by courtesy of the British Museum (B.M. 3505 b. 46).

8 Cf. A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad and Secretly in England, 1558-1640* (reprint: London: William Dawson and Sons Ltd. 1964). Allison and Rogers list some 630 works in nearly 950 editions. Scolar Press (London) had reproduced in facsimile some 400 of these titles in its series, "English Recusant Literature, 1558-1649." Editions of Vaux (cf. above, n. 6), Canisius, Bellarmine, Ledesma, and White (cf. above n. 6) are currently available from Scolar.

9. *An Abridgment of Christian Doctrine with proofs of Scripture for points controverted. Catechistically explained by way of Question and Answer by H.T.* (Douai: n.p., 1649). Turberville (*alias* Bonville) sets forth the Catholic/Protestant argument vigorously but not bitterly. Looking into the times, he takes on the Puritans of the Commonwealth with zest. Turberville's work became the parent catechism of the English-language Catechesis (cf. below). The present writer examined the 1661 (Douai) and 1702 (London) editions at Memorial Library, University of Notre Dame. On Turberville, cf. Gillow, *Dictionary*, V. 559-560.

10 *An Abstract of the Doway Catechism* (Doway, n.p., 1682). This first edition is not listed in any of the standard works of British bibliography covering this period, nor has it been mentioned in the few references that have been made to the English-Language Catechesis in scholarly writings. The 1682 Abstract, however, can be found in the Newberry Library (Chicago). Cf. below, n. 11.

11 A "much revised and amended" *Abstract* was advertised by the London printer Hills in 1686 but it is not known to be extant. The earliest listed edition is *An Abstract of the Doway Catechism for the use of children and ignorant people* (Doway: M. Mariesse at the Salamander in the School Street, 1697). This last edition was examined by the present writer on microfilm through the courtesy of the British Museum (B.M. 3504 a 26). The revised *Abstract* contains some 385 question/answer units taken from the Doway Catechism.

12 Cf. *The Catechism for Curates compos'd by the Decree of the Council of Trent and publish'd by command of Pope Pius the Fifth. Faithfully Translated into English* (London: Henry Hills for the King and Matthew Turner, 1687). First published in 1566 as a conciliar enactment, the Tridentine catechism was designed to serve as a source-book for the parish clergy in giving sermons and catecheses. It was used into the present century for this purpose. Hills printed the Tridentine text during the short reign of James II, a more relaxed time for Roman Catholics in England.

13 John Gother was principal Catholic controversialist in the reign of James II (1685-88). He produced a number of apologetical treatises but was also the author of many catechetical instructions that used the catechismal format. For details on his life and a listing of his works, cf. Gillow, *Dictionary*, IV. 458-61; also *Dictionary of National Biography*, *VIII*. Cf. below, n. 27.

14 Cf. *The Little Catechism or a Short Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* (London: n.P., 1728) – examined on microfilm by courtesy of the British Museum (B.M. 3504 aa 24); also An Abridgment of Christian Doctrine revised and enlarged by R.C. for the use of the L - - - n District (n.p. 1759) – examined on microfilm by courtesy of the British Museum (B.M. 1490 bb 17 [1]); also *An Abridgment of Christian Doctrine, Revised and Enlarged by R.C.* (St. Omer: H. F. Boubers, 1772) – examined through photoduplication by courtesy of Oscott College, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, England. An examination of the 1728 Abridgement clearly shows it to be taken from the Doway Catechism (cf. above, n. 9), hence its title. It selected 200 question/answer units from the Doway and its 1697 *Abstract* (cf. above, n. 11) but rearranged them and largely rewrote them in more contemporary style. It also interspersed additional material. The "R.C." given as the redactor of the 1759 and 1772 editions was Richard Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District (1758-81). Challoner had a great literary output, much of it a revision of the older recusant classics. Challoner greatly preserved the 1728 text in his redactions but he made many stylistic changes, rewrote some units, and added new ones. The Challoner redactions (with continued revisions) became England's famous "Penny Catechism," used until quite recently in the religious education of English and Welsh Catholics. It also passed to America where it became the initial and one of the primary components of the American Catholic catechetical tradition. Challoner's biographers do not know of his 1759 redaction and seem to know nothing of the 1728 *Abridgement* from which it was taken. Challoner, then, is not the author of the *Abridgment*.

The editor of the original *A Short Abridgement* is unknown; identifying him should be the task of further research. For the definitive biography of Challoner; cf. Edwin Burton, *The Life and Times of Richard Challoner* (2 vols; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909). There are also extensive articles under his name in Gillow, *Dictionary*, I, 447-458; the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III; the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III; and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, III. Cf. also below, nn. 19-21.

15 For data, cf. Gillow, *Dictionary*, IV, 458-61; also *Dictionary of National Biography*, XII. Mannock was republished in the United States some ten times by 1865.

16 Cf. Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore (1791-1884)*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932), pp. 163-64.

17 Cf. *Documents of American Catholicism*, I, 142-44. Carroll came from a great Maryland family of American patriots and had himself been on the unsuccessful mission to Quebec (1776). Cf. Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (reprint: Westminster, Md., 1965). There are also articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III; the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III; and the *Dictionary of American Biography*, II.

18 Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore: Case 5, Letters K5 – K17. Some of these letters were also published in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, n.s., VII (July, 1912), 267-78. Data on Molyneaux can be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII and the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX. Molyneaux and Carroll had been good friends since their days together at the Jesuit College at St. Omer (Flanders). Both had been ordained as Jesuits, but the Society of Jesus was suppressed by the Holy See from 1773 to 1814. The papal decree took effect in America during these years.

19 Cf. above, n. 14. Molyneaux may have reprinted the 1728 text, but more probably he worked with Challoner's 1759 or 1772 redactions.

20 Charles Evans, *American Bibliography: [etc.]* (24 vols: Chicago: Printed for the author by Blackley Press *et seq.*, 1903-1959), VII, 65. Evans does not give the source of his entry, but it is most probable that he took it from a contemporary advertisement.

21 Cf. *A Short Abridgement of Christian Doctrine, Newly Revised for Use in the United States of America. To which is added a short daily exercise.* (12th ed.; Georgetown University Library; also (13th ed.; Baltimore: Samuel Sower, 1795) – examined at Woodstock College Library (New York); also (14th ed.; Baltimore: Michael Duffy, 1798) – examined at Georgetown University Library. The 1798 edition is available on microcard (No. 34484) in the reproductions based on Evans, *American Bibliography* published by the American Antiquarian Society (First Series; Worcester, Mass., 1955+).

22 Cf. above, n. 14. There has been – much confusion over the authorship of the "Carroll Catechism", – the present writer hopes his finding will clarify the issue.

23 On Languet, cf. J. Carreyre, "Languet de Villeneuve de Gergy, Jean-Joseph, *Dictionnaire de théologie catolique*, 2602-06. Languet had a career filled with controversy, largely concerning Jansenism. His catechism was the subject of one related controversy, the published documents of which fill three large tomes (Paris, 1742). The present writer was greatly surprised to find that the Languet catechism had been published at Quebec from 1965; cf. Fernand Porter, *L'Institution catéchistique au Canada, deux siècles de formation religieuse, 1633-1833* (Montreal: Les Editions Franciscaines, 1949), 109ff. Through the extraordinary courtesy of the Bibliotheque Saint Sulpice (Montreal), the present writer was able to examine the original imprint, viz., *Catéchisme du Diocese de Sens, Par Monseigneur Jean-Joseph Languet, Archevêque de Sens* (Quebec: Chez Brown & Gilmore, 1765). An examination of the volume makes it clear where Molyneaux got his material.

24 Cf. B. Matteucci, "Jansenist Piety," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VI and E. Day, "Communion, Frequency of," *ibid.*, IV.

25 Nothing has been written on Butler's authoring of this work, even though a good deal is known of his highly controversial activity; cf. Laurence F. Renehan, *Collections on Irish Church History*, ed. by Daniel McCarthy, I (Dublin: C.M. Warren, 1861), 323-56. Butler was sprung from an artistocratic line. Unlike many other Irish bishops of his time, he was loyal to the British Crown. In troubled Ireland, the Archbishop of Cashel made a strong case for *civil obedience* and it shows in the Fourth Commandment units of his catechism. The present writer sees definite textual similarities between Butler and Languet (cf. above, n. 23) and plans to explore these further.

26 It is probable that Butler put out his original catechism in 1777. This is the Butler text that Father Molyneaux speaks of to Carroll (cf. above, n. 18). The revised Butler appeared sometime after 1791. It was this latter edition that was reprinted again and again in the United States. Butler also became the component of later major American catechisms. The *Scriptural Catechism* of Milner (more apologetic than "biblical") was the work of one of Challoner's (cf. above n. 14) younger contemporaries, the gifted and forceful Dr. John Milner. It was often republished as an appendix to Butler and "Carroll." On Milner, cf. Gillow, *Dictionary*, V, 15-52; also the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX; also the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIII.

27 On Gother, cf. above, n. 13. Gother's *Instruction upon the Sacrament of Confirmation*, revised by William Eyre, had recently been republished in England (Newcastle: F. Coates, 1783). The present writer is still making efforts to locate this edition. We know that Carroll began his visitations of the American Church in the summer of 1785 and that he confirmed as he made his way.

28 This edition was examined by the present writer at Georgetown University Library. It is agreed that Reeve's work is a translation and adaptation of the seventeenth century French biblical work *L'Abrégé de Royaumont*. A consultation of French bibliographical works shows, however, uncertainty over the author of *L'Abrégé*, viz., either Isaac-Louis LeMaistre de Sacy (1613-1684) or Nicolas Fontaine (1625-1709). On Reeve, cf. Gillow, *Dictionary*, V, 402-03.

29 This original edition was examined by the present writer at the Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.

30 *Catholic Christian Instructed* was reprinted here in its own form again and again throughout the 1800's and parts of it were taken into other American catechisms.

31 This edition was examined by the present writer at the Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. The above and other of his works were republished in the United States up to 1850.

32 This edition was examined by the present writer at Georgetown University Library. The *Catéchisme* was republished in several editions here up to 1818. The 1789 edition is available on microcard (No. 31117, as cited in n. 21). It is possible that this catechism was printed at New Orleans in 1764; the Louisiana Text, however, is not extant.

33 Examined by the present writer at Woodstock College Library (New York). Reuter and the trustees of Holy Trinity Church in Baltimore were in serious conflict with Bishop John Carroll. The catechism was a factor.

34 Examined by the present writer at the Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. Very little is known about Houdet.

35 The Statutes of the First National Synod are contained in *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori Habita ab Anno 1829 usque ad Annum 1840* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1842), pp. 11-24.

36 Cf. Peter Guilday, ed., *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919*, (Westminster, Md.: Neuman Press, 1954), pp. 3ff.

37 There is indication from later references that the work of Henri-Marie Boudon, *La Science sacrée du catéchisme, ou l'Obligation qu'ont les pasteurs de l'enseigner et les peuples de s'en faire instruire* (Paris: J. T. Herissant, 1749) may have been influential in England, Ireland, and the United States.

38 For an excellent historical treatment of this problem, cf. "Matthew 27: 25" in Gregory Baum, *Is the New Testament Anti-Semitic ?* (rev. ed; Glen Rock, N.J.: Desu Books-Paulist Press, 1965), 100-08.

"'Be Still and Know!': Quaker Silence and Dissenting Educational Ideals, 1740-1812"

by

James D. Hendricks
Department of Education
Northern Michigan University

Most certainly, if our varied educational ideas and practices of the 18th century are to be more fully comprehended, new historical inquiries into the divergencies among groups and within groups, particularly the latter, are needed. Especially imperative are new studies of religious groups. Historical studies of groups, religious groups being no exception though researched so frequently, have not attended to how the groups and their internal divisions perceived the momentous events and changes of the 18th century and how these groups responded to the events thereby adding new complexities and qualities to the educational scene. All too frequently, the events and changes comprising the Revolutionary Era, whether or not those events and changes are religious, are examined almost exclusively in terms of the Founding Fathers and their causes. With the Revolutionary celebration approaching, little change is likely.

The following pages are an effort toward enlarging our understanding of these decades between 1740 and 1812 through an examination of how one religious group, the Society of Friends and its subgroups in and around Philadelphia, saw and responded to the momentous events swirling around them. The Friends left a large body of literature in the form of journals and letters revealing their hopes and fears regarding the America they saw emerging and taking shape from these changes. Those hopes and fears found their flowering in the renewed concern for a religiously guarded education as expressed in the journals and epistles of a new body of ministering Quakers. The renewed concern in a religious education would be within a novel context. This renewed concern as well as the internal divisions within the Society stemmed from their unavoidable experiences and perceptions of those momentous events surrounding them in America. Most unfortunately, these perceptions were discerned rarely, if at all, by prominent contemporaries of public life often engaged in judging the Friends such as Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and many other public leaders. Furthermore, the historians ignore those divergent perceptions among Quakers regarding the events along with the impact of those perceptions upon changes in educational ideas and practices among the Quakers. This failure is especially noticeable among those histories of education from Thomas Woody (1891-1960)[1] to those histories in the seventies, namely, L. A. Cremin's **American Education: The Colonial 1607-1783**[2] and Sheldon Cohen's **A History of Colonial Education 1607-1776.**[3]

To be more specific, the understanding to which the following pages are directed can be conveyed best through a series of questions: What was this concern for a religiously guarded education between 1740 and 1812; Was the concept a static concept uniformly shared by Quakers in the 18th century as so many histories of education portray; Who were the promoters of the concept between 1740 and 1812; Were they of the same background as the earlier leaders of Quaker educational ideals and practices; Was the context of Quakerism in which the concept flowers comparable to the earlier decades of Pennsylvania history? In response to these questions, three theses will be explicated. Firstly, Quakerism between 1740 and 1812 was in an endangered state, at least so judged by a vigorous coterie of new travelling ministers. The dangers confronting the Society were not attributable to persecution but to unique and novel forces for the Friends. Secondly, the Quaker leadership, representing quite a contrast in background to William Penn, David Barclay, and many other early formulators of Quaker educational ideals and practices, sought to respond to the endangered state through a renewed concern for a religiously guarded education. Logically basic to the renewed concern, however, was the concept of silence. Thirdly, the concept of a religiously guarded education implying the primacy of silence emerges as a different concept bearing new emphases and new de-emphases thereby qualifying seriously the earlier Quaker acceptance of "whatever civil and useful."

The concept of a religiously guarded education now was not to function so as to preserve the Friends from the world as much as to reform the Society and to purge the Society of practices in order to restore it to a primitive and pristine purity. Thus, the concept was directed to the young and old. It was "true silence," the most important of all the new defining characteristics for the concept, which the new and more radical travelling ministers saw as the means for the Society's reformation and restoration.

The Jeremiad

Crises---wars, rebellions, demonstrations, raids, riots, epidemics---were ever present phenomena along the Eastern seaboard from 1740 to at least 1812. Violence and still more violence was the case for Americans, especially those in the urban areas and frontier regions. Historians have yet to discern adequately the significance of the violence qua violence as well as discern the significance of the violence upon institutions, upon the non-leading, less articulate individuals. Of course, the significance of violence upon the non-leading, less articulate individuals as well as upon social institutions requires renewed study. For leaders and non-leaders alike in most walks of life, the violent events swirling around them were never remote in possibility, in significance, and in proximity. Real and direct to the colonists were these events, events known at later times as the Pontiac Rebellion, the Paxton Raids, the Quartering Crises, the French-Indian Wars, to mention a few. Indeed those crises yielding and comprising the Revolutionary War were in

themselves of tremendous significance to America without the addition of other violent crises preceding and following that war. Without any doubt, the wars and the myriad of other crises of the decades between 1740 and 1812 readily and easily impinged upon the colonists' very being, particularly their consciousness. Little opportunity existed for people to bury, shun, avoid the harsh realities of the rebellions, wars, and demonstrations. Immediate and personal encounters with turmoil seemed the order of the day at many times during these decades.

The responses to these events of hostility were so diverse in character, as diverse as the events were in locales, participants, and issues. Institutions, groups, and individuals were compelled to respond to these events, exceptions almost non-existent. Educational institutions---church, family, school, newspapers, reading associations---responded to the hostile and at times volatile events of these decades. The Society of Friends through its families, its schools, and various meetings made from time to time their unique responses to the wars, raids, demonstrations, and mob scenes.

Quaker responses to the violent events occurring in Colonies were by no means monolithic. Diversity for Quakers was ever prevalent. There were fragmentations, dissensions, divisions, cultivated indifference, etc. in the context of an already pluralistic surrounding culture.[4] At times, those growing and quite often subtle diversities among the Quakers were low-keyed while in others the manifestations were intense. The scope, permeation and intensity of the divisions among the Friends, however, never reached such extended proportions as the Hicksite separation of the 1820's.

The divergent responses among the Friends underscored among other things the fact that these events were taxing, extremely so, for the Quakers in America compared to those in England. Perhaps among all the Quakers, those in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and New York incurred the most taxing challenges to their traditional testimonies of brotherly love: toleration, peace, love, and simplicity, to mention a few. In their efforts to puritanize or in some cases to out-puritanize other English puritans of the 17th Century, their testimonies emerged in the context of limited challenge compared to the challenges or circumstances which confronted Quakers in 18th Century Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and New York. The last fifty to sixty years of the 18th Century were to test the Friends with new situations, so extremely novel in their combination of details. The outcome would not only be a heightened sensitivity as to the details of circumstances, but also there would be heightened interest in their past (their past as it related to their testimonies), an intense re-examination of those testimonies, and an evaluation of their institutions as well as non-Quaker institutions.

Perhaps most important of all the outcomes would be the recognition that new requirements were necessary to preserve

consistency with Quaker traditions. For example, the belief that traditional testimonies must embrace matters relating to taxation and war rather than war itself became evident to more Quaker ministers during these decades than at any time in their previous history.[5] In short, the Friends were to confront choices and decisions most demanding and agonizing, choices, and options never confronted with the precise combination of details in their history. Rarely if at all were these situations to be incurred on the part of contemporary Quakers in other parts of the world. Furthermore, few religious groups would incur the exacting situations so encountered by the Quakers in the middle Atlantic region between 1740-1812.

While I began this essay with references to such violent events as the Paxton Raids, the Pontiac Rebellion, Seven Year War, and so forth, the Quaker divisive and intense responses were not limited to these kinds of events. Other exigencies were impinging upon their lives in various ways and through various means equally as taxing upon their traditional testimonies and social institutions. Disturbing to the Quakers were the never ending array of Indian problems which were increasingly more difficult for them to influence. There was the astounding prevalence of poverty among Indians, growing by the decade; there was the Whiteman's spread of strong drink, of weapons, and of diseases among the Indians; there were the inexhaustible signs of cheating the Indian in business deals. To the Quaker, no end existed to the enumeration of problems between the White man and the Indian. Increasingly it became evident to many a Quaker minister[6] that the Indian was being destroyed in his contact with the White man and in the struggles between European nations, struggles being decided in this country.

Very much related to the Indian problems and equally distressing to Quaker ministers with each passing decade was the wealth so visible among Quakers and non-Quakers alike. Of course, particularly the wealth among the Quaker merchants was a tremendous source of embarrassment in the midst of rampant poverty among Whites as well as Indians and Blacks. Most of that poverty was to be attributed to the merchant, according to Quaker ministers like Woolman, rather than genetic defects among the poor, lack of skills, character deficiencies, etc. Gradually a vocal entourage of travelling ministers denounced those who believed that some are singled by God or by Nature's order to be special guardians of and holders of the world's resources. Travelling through America, Quaker ministers noted those centers of wealth and business: Boston, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Providence, and others. Of course, particular attention was directed at Philadelphia and its surrounding environs since for Quakers and non-Quakers this region symbolized Quakerism, Penn's Holy Experiment. Here as well as elsewhere, Quaker names were to appear as leading businessmen in the midst of what for many would be the presence of poverty. Wealth seemed to come with ease to American Quakers while others incurred poverty and long days, years of arduous labor only to end in their last years without any mode of livelihood and mode of care. That wealth was not only symbolized in business firms with their profits, but also in

the luxurious surroundings with which the wealthy, Quaker and non-Quaker, surrounded themselves ranging from fine though plain apparel, travel, dwellings, education and still more.

To those ministering Quakers as Benezet, Woolman, Hugh Judge, John Hunt, Joshua Evans, John Griffiths, John Churchman, Benjamin Lay, and others, this discrepant situation struck at the Quakers' traditional identity. The testimony of plainness and charity had for decades provided the Quakers an identity. Just as the land and business policies and practices of the English and the French toward the Indians taxed their ideal of love and charity, the prevalence of wealth and poverty did likewise. The situation haunted their sensitive consciousness. Especially with Quakers being leading businessmen, the taint of hypocrisy was apparent, at least so judged men and women such as Hugh Judge, Rebecca Jones, et al. Plainness as a testimony ascribed to the Quakers had to be questioned by the Quaker ministers themselves as Quaker business leaders fussed over their libraries, as Quaker businessmen labored over the plans for their garden estates, as Quaker business leaders as well as non-Quaker leaders in business wrangled over political offices, or elections, as Quakers sought some semblance of a "classical" education for their sons and daughters. Ascribing plainness to the Quaker at this time and in America seemed more and more a misnomer.

As the decades passed following 1740, the questions became clearer, more pungent, and more frequent; could plainness be affirmed both as an ideal and as matter of practice if the Society of Friends ignored those fellow Friends holding leadership positions in business, politics, and the Society itself whose carriages, dress, education, dwellings, and recreation were among the most costly though at the same time deleted of all superfluous ornamentation. Was such a reality a specious plainness? A plainness of form but without substance? And as the decades passed, the answer to that question became more determinate, especially with the leadership of Quaker ministers between Benjamin Lay and Elias Hicks. For ministering Quakers bearing great sensitivity to their Inner Lights, costly life-styles absent ornamentation strained the testimony of plainness to the point of suggesting the incompatibility of plainness, business, and wealth in its many forms. If incompatibility were not affirmed, the mission of the Quakers to be "a people among people" so as to keep alive certain spiritual and moral virtues was itself in jeopardy, quite possibly totally lost. Furthermore, their role as critics to the non-Quaker America would be shorn of its force unless their own Society was put in order. Of course, charity and love also had to be extended to these children of God, the wealthy Quakers. Truly it was most taxing to declare the wealthy guilty of infractions while trying to preserve the unity of the Society.

Politics in general were exceedingly taxing to the Quaker ministry during this period unlike earlier decades, especially the participation of Quakers in politics whether in Pennsylvania, New Jersey or elsewhere.

Not only did the matter of wars and politics challenge the Quaker testimonies with new situations, but they entangled or embroiled them in embarrassing circumstances. An example was the election riot of 1742 involving a member of the famous Pemberton family, Israel Pemberton II, who exchanged blows with some sailors at an election poll in Philadelphia. This situation exposed Quakers to ridicule regarding their supposed pacificism. Matters did not stop here. Another example was the John Kinsey scandal of 1750. The well-known and influential Speaker of the General Assembly, John Kinsey, also Clerk of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, was found to have taken considerable money from the public treasury, a situation discovered by those prominent Quaker businessmen and political leaders who were responsible for settling his estate.

Besides the occasional scandals involving Quaker politicians, there were the innumerable situations in which Quaker politicans were fraternizing and/or called upon to associate with men who were most scheming thereby wedding the Quaker and in a way the Society more firmly to the non-spiritual world. Certainly political participation exposed Quakers qua individuals and the Society to schemers if not to temptations. For example, Isaac Norris III was long an assembly associate of Benjamin Franklin. It was Franklin along with Reverend Smith and others who conducted a subtle attack upon the German population, particularly those pacifistic pietist groups long loyal to the Quakers and the Penn family. That attack and its character became clarion with Christopher Sauer's exposure of their effort to establish a system of charity schools in the 1750's for their assimilation into "loyal British subjects," i.e., God-fearing, king-fearing, non-pacifistic, English-speaking subjects. Within five years, Franklin was once again involved in a public controversy resulting in the loss of his General Assembly seat. This new heir to the leadership of the Quaker Party and Assembly associate of Norris and other Quaker politicians was suspected of unreasonable expenses incurred while representing the Colony in England. Franklin was also suspected of confiscating a portion of the money paid the Colony in return for the expenses sustained in the French-Indian Wars. A small band of assemblymen requested the Assembly enter what in effect was their censor of Franklin, but this was of no avail. Their recourse was to publish their "protestations" of Franklin in a local newspaper. These and other events forced a question rarely raised as extensively and at the same time so seriously as now: is direct and indirect participation at any time (in times of peace as well as war) and at any level (from assemblyman to local justice of the peace and finally to voter) compatible with the Quaker testimony of peace, honesty, love, charity, and tolerance. This question would naturally become more pressing upon the Quaker conscience (as exemplified by such persons as Benezet, Churchman, Lay, and many others) once the German groups (Moravians, Mennonites, German Brethren, et al.) were successful in bearing witness to similar testimonies.

25

While a multitude of other factors existed to which Quakers were responding, suffice it to be said that these times were indeed "weighing" heavily upon the consciences and thereby upon the very being of the Friends' Society and institutional order, a Society and order dedicated and judged in terms of the traditional testimonies. America came increasingly to symbolize at this point in time for Quakers as would be the case for so many other groups a land for generating with speed and with ease immense hopes and visions but also a place for their eventual destruction, quite often a subtle destruction. Samuel Fothergill, an English Friend, expressed most effectively this theme. Note most effectively; this statement was not the first nor the last such theme. The occasion was a letter to James Wilson (1756) in which he recounts his travel in America:

> "To begin with Pennsylvania, where I landed. There are a very great body of people who bear our name, and many who deserve to bear it. A noble seed, of several classes respecting age, though too few of the aged amongst them, who have kept their garments clean, and whose hands are strong. Their fathers came into the country in its infancy, and bought large tracts of land for a trifle; their sons found large estates come into their possession, and a profession of religion which was partly national, which descended like the patrimony from their fathers and cost as little. They settled in ease and affluence, and while they made the barren wilderness as a fruitful field, suffered the plantation of God to be as a field uncultivated, and a desert. Thus, decay of discipline and other weakening things prevailed, to the eclipsing of Zion's beauty; yet was there a noble remnant, whose love was strong, and who remembered the Lord of the whole earth and his house, whilst they built their own.
>
> A people who had thus beat their swords into ploughshares, with the bent of their spirits to this world, could not instruct their offspring in those statutes they had themselves forgotten. As every like begets its like, a generation was likely to succeed, formed upon other maxims, if the everlasting Father had not mercifully extended a visitation, to supply the deficiency of their natural parents."[7]

Among many a minister from the surrounding areas of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, the jeremiadic style and theme became common. Variations were evident in metaphors, intensity, and specific content; however, most assuredly an almost inexhaustible entourage of travelling ministers were asserting boldly in varied ways and circumstances that America to the Quakers was a place where dreams and values, moral and spiritual, were challenged and eventually destroyed or modified out of being. The destruction came through a subtle and almost imperceptibly slow process, at least so it seemed for

the Quakers like Samuel Fothergill. Though those hopes and aspirations were never rendered asunder dramatically and violently, the destructive effect was the same and more staggering to the more "radical" group of travelling ministers. The destructive process was accommodation or assimilation of a group's identity out of being. The destruction came without foreknowledge; thus, a few guards existed. Martyrdom was out of reach at this point unlike in the past. Thus, those dreams not only became more difficult to adhere to, those visions became more difficult to restore through reformation, especially as tendencies toward departures were accommodated with ease and little consciousness. Through the ease of accommodation, a staggering array of hostile defenses faced the "ministerial" critics of 18th century Pennsylvania Quakerdom. A good example, one among many, would be Logan's paper on defensive war. In summary, despite the array of hostile but genteel defenses incurred, their message to Quakers and non-Quakers alike was that America, a land of promise to those of high ideals, was also a land of failure and disappointment, a failure and disappointment so poignant in light of thy origin and process—assimilation and inattention.

Silence

As stated earlier, Quaker institutions were forced to respond to the circumstances of surrounding violence, discrepancy in wealth, injustices incurred by helpless groups, political controversies, and so forth, if the Society were to survive unimpaired by the new surroundings. Among the institutions coming under close scrutiny, of course, were the family, the meetinghouse, and the school. The purification of the Friends, also imperative if an attack upon American society were to be sustained, required a close examination of those educational institutions simultaneously. Inattention to one or attention to each in isolation of the other was by no means regarded as sufficient. Reformation and eventual revitalization of the Society of Friends for its new role and novel crises necessitated an attack upon all educational institutions; therefore, a reformation and revitalization through education was to become the common theme. The Society's neglect of education would be both a characterization and explanation of the Society's status, near assimilation into America's materialism, violence, etc.

The phrase "religiously guarded education," so widely used during these decades, symbolized the new awareness of the Society's changed circumstances and the need for novel responses. A religiously guarded education was to function as a guard against creeping assimilation into the ways of the non-Quaker world of American business and political values but also as the revitalization and restoration of the Society of Friends in America, especially in the middle-Atlantic America. Though the phrase itself was long part of the Quaker tradition as it was for other religious groups, between 1740 and 1812 that phrase assumed new substantive and procedural meaning, greater clarity and precision as well as new impetus among Quakers.

The concept of a "religiously guarded education" was amended and circulated by the conjunction of a complex network of meetings and a large cadre of ministers travelling from meeting to meeting and especially from family to family on special family visitations. The latter, family visitations by elders and ministers, became an ever more popular technique following 1750 for impressing the concept's importance upon the Society's members. These ministers in their travels were often entrapped by these agonizing events acquiring thereby firsthand experiences of the newer kinds of "trials and sufferings" to be incurred by those dedicated to the testimonies of brotherly love during difficult times.[8] Through those trials and sufferings, the travelling ministers bore witness to the young and adult members of the concept itself: its rigor, its discipline, and last its newer standards. From the time of Benjamin Lay to those of Elias Hicks came forth ministers cajoling the more reticent fellow ministering and non-ministering Quakers into extending their understanding of their heritage in testimonies and adding new dimensions to that heritage. By living in accordance with the Inner Light's directives regarding wealth, poverty, work, business, politics, and other problem areas, new dimensions and understanding of those testimonies as well as courage to live by them would be discovered, so affirmed many a travelling Quaker minister in and around Philadelphia. The styles, levels of attack, and points of emphases displayed tremendous variety and ranges among those ministers amending and circulating the concept of a "religiously guarded education."

Perhaps most striking about these ministers who were pressing so ardently for a religiously guarded education was their being predominantly American born, and their humble origins compared to John Smith (of Burlington), Nicholas Waln, Samuel Emlen, Jr., or John Pemberton, also travelling ministers. Most of these ministers of the new era did not represent names of old line Quaker families out of Philadelphia's wealth. Among the new ministers were numerous men and women of very humble origin such as Robert Willis, Joshua Brown, Joshua Evans, Sarah Harrison, Susanna Lightfoot, Hannah Cathrall, Charity Cook, Lydia Hoskens, Hugh Judge, John Hunt, John Wollman, Sophia Hume, Caleb Richardson, Mary Peisley, and many more. Quite a contrast to the background represented by such names as Sarah Morris, Deborah Morris, Samuel Emlen, Jr., Nicholas Waln, John Pemberton, and others. The most significant development was the enormous body of travelling ministers bearing family backgrounds detached from business and politics–most decidedly rural with little in the way of wealth as represented in such things as estates, libraries, carriages, land, and so forth. Their never-ending religious visitations, their prodigious epistles, and their books spread a network of contact from Montreal to South Carolina's most remote parts and finally into the most remote reaches of Georgia, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. These men in turn travelled as companions with the English Quakers engaging in ministerial visits to America. The religious travels of the American Friends were, indeed, concerned with the subtle spiritual and moral declension of the Society particularly in America and with the need for

"religiously guarded education" embracing all ages as a means for the Society's restoration. With their never-ending travel bearing witness to certain themes in inexhaustible variety, no accident was discernible in Jefferson's characterization of the Quakers as comprising an "international subversive movement." They were, Jefferson states, "Protestant Jesuits."[9] The travels by this cast of ministers (comprising many more than ever noted by Sydney V. James, Rufus Jones, F. Tolles, Cadbury, and other Quaker historians) strained the leaders in politics and government: constant crossing of battle lines, their refusals on oaths, their "flagrant defiance" of authority without resistance in the war efforts, their relief work which appeared as aid to the enemy, assistance to Indians at treaty negotiations, and many more. Not only did they strain the patience of those in politics and government whether Quaker or non-Quaker, but their lives exemplified par excellence the implications they envisioned of a religiously guarded education.

The concept of a "religiously guarded education" through its explication, clarification, and amendment provided a center of focus or conjoining point for their worries and anxieties over the Society's members and at the very same time the larger world of non-Quakers, their lives and their governments. It was here that their many "weighty concerns" for their own failings and those of other members converged into a common point with the efforts for redress, reform, and prevention for the future. Of course, the meetinghouse would itself be a natural place spiritually and pragmatically for that convergence. Particularly in the meetinghouses, the awareness of the concept's importance was raised, sustained, and measured or applied through their tireless travels and sacrifices in physical health and in family ties (being absent at the passing of one's spouse and/or children, falling ill in another's home in loneliness, and so forth).

The travelling among Quakers and non-Quakers with the accompanying hardships and strains afforded these ministers an outstanding education regarding themselves, regarding their understanding of Quaker testimonies, the state of the Society in America, and the state of the non-Quaker America emerging around them. Those firsthand experiences regarding themselves and the Society as well as the new America, in short, educated them with respect to the concept of a religiously guarded education (its meaning, its demanding implications for the Society's members, and its importance or urgency for both the Society's and America's future). Few Americans had such richly and persistently varied contacts covering the length and breadth of America between 1740 and 1800, and one might add the English-speaking world. It is rather doubtful that men such as Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, and other such leaders had comparable exposures. With their exposure to the state of their fellow Quakers and the surrounding society, the more burning became the desire to recall the Society of Friends to its true purpose and to reform the surrounding social order as much as possible. Little wonder, though low keyed as a rule, the concept of a "religiously guarded education"

assumed new dimensions and was pursued with greater zeal than ever before in the Society's history.

Of all the new dimensions to be embraced by the concept, silence was most important. Concern with silence was evident to some degree in Quaker journals, letters, and other documents before 1740; however, that concern never conveyed the import then that it did in the last half of the 18th Century. Unlike before, the travelling ministers such as Hugh Judge, Susanna Lightfoot, Rebecca Jones, Joshua Evans, John Hunt, John Churchman, John Woolman, and many others forged through their efforts impressive links (conceptual, psychological, pragmatic, and ethical links) between the concept of a religiously guarded education and silence such that the latter, silence, was implicit in the very definition of the concept itself. Furthermore, silence as a logically basic or fundamental component in the concept now functioned normatively in an immense array of settings. Lastly, their concern for silence conveyed a more profound understanding of silence, especially its extensive and exacting rigor demanded in America.

To explicate, silence implied the Inner Light, a concept long fundamental to Quakerism at least in theory; however, much more was implied less characteristic of the Society's leaders before 1740. Implied was the claim that the Inner Light or "still small voice within" as a divine faculty was a far superior faculty to those natural faculties possessed by the mind. Furthermore, the natural faculties became a hindrance when developed within most education systems and societies.

It was not only an infallible source of knowledge for both spiritual and practical matters, but it was an inexhaustible source of inspiration, courage, patience, endurance, and tranquility. As proclaimed by many Quaker ministers, the Inner Light could melt down all "animal" powers and inner conflicts. Note the Light or Inward Plantation yielded infallible directives or promptings for the practical affairs of life, not just the spiritual affairs. Through the promptings of the "still small voice within," significant results were to accrue: God's communication with man, the re-unification of man and God, and lastly regeneration, perfection, and inner peace.

With the above implied in the concept of silence, it comes as no surprise that silence assumed great importance to the serious and more radical Quaker ministers. The true silent waiting---Silence---was to be the well-spring of all Quaker ministerial activism in the meetinghouse, in the home, the school, and lastly in the practical world of farming, trade, and so forth.[10] To speak of silence without the Inner Light became an impossibility for them. In addition, to speak of ministering to any needs, spiritual and non-spiritual, was an impossibility without implying both conceptually and practically silence. As the travelling ministers spread their ideas, silence became an essential and distinctive mark of Quakerism of this era. Silence in Quakerism symbolized, thus, a desired state from which all edification and perfection, spiritual and non-spiritual, derive.

Silence, in addition, implied and symbolized a disciplined state. Being still and listening with acute attention was indeed imperative if the "small voice within" were to be heard. Silence was a disciplined and guarded self-denial, i.e., a patient waiting, a total submission, and a total governance of one's life by the "small voice." True silence, so stated Hugh Judge, was a most difficult state to attain. At the end of a long day in which he purports to have "labored for settlement and stability of mind," Hugh Judge entered into his journal, "there are three kinds of silence; the first, from action; the second, from speaking; and the third, from thinking."[1] "The last," he stated, "is most difficult to attain," especially so since America offered so much to distract the Quaker and the non-Quaker. Silence implied a disciplined physical and mental state of reduced activity and keen waiting, both accompanied by a reduction in distractors. The waiting might extend a few minutes, a few hours, several hours, and sometimes quite possibly days. This disciplined, silent waiting was to be practiced and/or attained while ploughing, while travelling, or while sitting, to mention a few. Vivid examples came forth: Rebecca Jones sitting in a small seafaring vessel to determine whether or not to proceed by boat or by horseback; John Woolman doing likewise before his departure for England; William Mathews delaying for several weeks his return home from England after one such waiting.

To affirm silence as basic to a religiously guarded education was also to assert the importance of silence as a rigorous normative standard for the individual and the Society as to what is right, as to what is a distractor, etc. With silence functioning as a standard, its discipline became ever more apparent to the ministers who committed themselves to silence. That standard applied to the non-Quaker America of Pennsylvania and surrounding areas suggested a hostile environment for the practice of silence and for a religiously guarded education rooted in silence. American with its abundance of land to drive men, America with its riches in natural resources, America with its growing wealth in estates, in furniture, and in the pursuit of high culture, America with its restlessness, America with its politics and newspapers provided an unlimited spectrum of distractors from the silence so necessary for the small voice. America with its wars and myriad of other calamities provided few conditions suitable for the practice of silence as the latter was understood by Quaker ministers. America's schooling was no exception. Of course, the Quaker difficulty of living in such an America was compounded by the Quaker desire to avoid retreats into monastic asceticism or into a life style comparable to the Moravian economies at Nazareth, Lititz, or Bethlehem. Thus, silence functioning as a normative standard (to repeat, a standard for assessing the America which Quakers were experiencing) became the integral basis for their alarmist view of the New America emerging with the Revolution. The same standard provided the basic element for forging new rigor into those traditional testimonies of peace, simplicity, plainness, equality, and charity.

[1] The America, so disturbing to these travelling ministers, was an America in which powerful rewards from the public accrued to the

most active minds in politics, in business, in religion, and elsewhere, not just in educational institutions. The traces of the same phenomenon, they discerned with dismay, penetrated into the very fiber of the Society. Little wonder the America they saw, particularly in Pennsylvania and surrounding areas (the symbol and citadel of Quakerism), was feared so greatly. After all, the America surrounding them **did** have the power to destroy their Society in such alluring and seductive ways as well as the potential to destroy itself. The never-ending series of political, economic, and military struggles between 1740 and the War of 1812 seemed ample evidence of that danger to America itself.

Silence as a standard being applied assiduously to the Society gave further indication of its importance. The ministers travelling among the various meetings repeated in subtle and low-keyed terms the warnings that the Society's members were succumbing to the American predilection for the active and vigorous man and his mind, the very antithesis of Hugh Judge's three kinds of silence. Journals and epistles recount almost endless traces of that penetration. Quaker minister John Hunt, as for many other ministers, encountered a growing membership in meetings seeking after the minister's words rather than the "true Silent waiting." To many a Quaker minister such as he, this was a tremendous disappointment. All too often, he as well as others proclaimed that too many ministers yielded to the membership's pressure for words. The charge against those ministers was that their words were not grounded in true silence. Disgust among the people or something approximating it was felt by John Hunt or others when the Inner Light directed silence or gave forth no directives for speaking in meetings. The tensions between the membership and the visiting minister were noted especially when a reputable minister from afar met with members also from afar, quite possibly on a weekday, only to incur a silence. To those members or visitors attending meetings with "busy hands and busy minds," that silence was ever more alien and repulsive on first day meetings, let alone weekday meetings. Equally distressing to Hunt were those areas where members had not practiced the art of silent meetings in years. All too often, his yearning or search for a silent meeting ended in disappointment as such were not to be found. Hunt feared for his Society's future when its members sought no longer the Inner Light's inspiration and guidance but rather the "great and reputable minister's" inspiring words.

The "itch" for words as some ministers expressed the neglect of silence as a standard was also observable in other ways. There was the neglect of silence in the conduct of business meetings: too much talk, dissension, and debate among the factions. A greater or stricter observance of silence was the recommendation, less discussion and less debate. Furthermore, pervasively evident were the pre-meeting gatherings and chatterings, the incessant comings and goings during meetings to the accompaniment of women fanning themselves, and the perpetual tardiness of many members. The latter, of course, were obstructive of the "true Silent waiting." The neglect of week day and

first day meetings for purposes of business, farming, politics, etc., provided additional bases for indicting the Society's members. The constant mobility of Quakers after the fashion of other Americans for fuller and more "abundant" opportunities left entire meetinghouses empty or left Quaker families destitute, i.e., without supportive families for worship and discipline. Many a Quaker family left behind or those moving into a new rural areas without fellow Quakers became easy "prey" to the pressures and influences of those leaders and groups bearing no regard for the "true Silent waiting," so likewise for those families or apprentices going to the cities.

To a Joshua Evans or to his close associate also from Mt. Holly and vicinity, John Hunt, the drowsiness or dullness present in meetings gave additional bases for the charge that the Society's members held in esteem other qualities than those qualities or virtues basic to "true Silence," as represented by a John Woolman or a Joshua Evans. Members came to meetings and remained silent; however, they came with their minds fixed upon other concerns during meetings or with their minds dulled by their daily fixation upon business matters, political issues, factional issues, or the farm crops. Thus, it was said that some silent meetings were judged as deficient or not truly silent meetings. Silence was not just a standard, but more importantly it was an immensely rigorous and demanding standard for the entire Society as the ministers' understanding and appreciation of its nature became more profound.

To recapitulate, the renewed concern for a religiously guarded education was not only an expressed recognition of the Society's endangered state in America, but the renewed concern was an indictment of the Society itself. It was a recognition and affirmation of the Society's need for both reform and revitalization. In short, it was a charge of corruption itself within the Society. The famous Pennsylvania Yearly Committee Report submitted by Anthony Benezet and Isaac Zane in 1778, as had to many other statements regarding education from 1740 on to 1812, began with this particular charge of corruption: "...many hurtful and Corrupt things have gained ground amongst us."[12] More importantly the renewed concern for a religiously guarded education was an affirmation that the Society's reformation and revitalization required ultimately a return to the primitive spirit and discipline of Quakerism, namely the light (i.e., being still and knowing). Lastly, that pursuit of the Society's reformation through a religiously guarded education was ultimately an induction into the disciplined life of silence so that the Light, the true Teacher and Monitor, might govern completely one's entire life. The Society's recent "hurtful and Corrupt" practices, according to the Benezet and Zane report, was due to the Society's failure to provide such an education for its young, especially by employing Masters "who have not submitted to the operation of Truth,"[13] the Divine Teacher. That neglect of a religiously guarded education was even more telling during these decades with the advent of birthright membership in the 1740's and with the ever present flow of crises surrounding the Society. After all, the understanding and the

appreciation of "true Silent Waiting" as well as its practice was endangered more seriously than at any time before 1740 in America.

The Civil and the Useful

Among the travelling ministers, a religiously guarded education as the concept developed between 1740 and 1812 came to embrace an enormous collection of educational prescriptions and proscriptions as well as indictments. In short, it means an educational program to rectify basic deficiencies stemming from the neglect of silence. Initially, the program appears motley, highly varied, and unstructured. The reason for that derives from the program having been sketched by the travelling ministers and dispersed casually through letters and journals, rather than through formal treatises or proposals as Franklin, Jefferson, Rush, or Reverend William Smith did. Though dispersed casually, a program of prescriptions and proscriptions did emerge, and most importantly that program bore novel emphases and de-emphases compared to the earlier history of the Society's leadership and their educational practices in Pennsylvania and surrounding areas. The novel aspects of that program constituted a shift from the earlier conceptions of the "civil and the useful" under the rubric of "a religiously guarded education." The basic structure to that program, of course, was true silence, the Light's growth and dominion over one's life.

The standard or norm for altering the "civil and the useful" was silence (of course, logically implicit in the concept of a religiously guarded education, to repeat). Furthermore, silence entailed a recognition of the Light's fragility and its smallness. Thus, the appropriate education required the parameters of the "civil and useful" be molded by silence, especially being attentive to the Light's fragile nature. Most importantly, to repeat, it was silence this time which was to alter the earlier Quaker penchant for approving "whatever civil and useful." As a result, the travelling ministers were positing new constraints upon the "civil and useful." Those constraints meant that the phrase could no longer bless certain activities and life careers, particularly those which seemed to bring assimilation and prostitution of Quaker testimonies. At this point in time, silence was to function as the norm for determining the mark of a model Quaker. It was silence which was to determine the acceptable careers and the beneficial activities. Succinctly stated, all life and its learnings were to be submitted to the test of silence.

Formal treatises regarding silence as a standard were never prepared as formal treatises were inconsistent with their stand regarding silence and its relation to the Inner Light. Furthermore, unlike other religious groups, formal dogmas, doctrines, creeds, and liturgies did not surround such a basic belief as silence. No doctrines of equivalent character to the Trinity or the Apostolic Succession, for example, came forth from their position on silence. No liturgical practices such as the Mass or the Love Feast nor meditational literature was evolved by John Woolman,

Joshua Evans, John Churchman, Elias Hicks, and others for promoting and sustaining the practice of silence. Thus, a religiously guarded education for a child or an adult never embraced an induction into such content. Furthermore, musical literature never surrounded silence as practiced in the meetinghouse nor away from the meetinghouse. If the meaning of treatise were stretched, at most the treatises on silence were sketched via particular individuals—their life and practice of silence. The highest and most profound record of its practice was found, thus, in their letters, their journals, dying statements, and in the character of memorials prepared by particular Quaker meetings regarding those individuals. Of course, most of those who were notable practitioners of the art of silence would be ministering Quakers. It was their body of letters, journals, and memorials into which the young were to be inducted, i.e., the value and discipline of silence in a secular world.

If any doctrines or dogmas could be said to have evolved among these ministers, those doctrines centered around the nature of the Truth which the Inner Light or Inward Monitor unfolds to those practicing the discipline—"stillness." All Truth, so the Inner Lights among the ministers directed, was characterized by beauty, unity, and simplicity. With respect to simplicity, no complex intellectual formulations, justifications, and clarifications by learned men were required. So likewise, those Truths did not necessitate an elaborate theory of aesthetics nor class of artists (poets, composers, painters, and architects) by which to search for and/or capture the beauty of both the Light and its Truths. The Light and its Truths as they came to men provided the only true experience and appreciation of rhythm, form, and joy as long as without the distractors of the artists' symbols and theories. In short, there was no endless and restive search for creative symbols nor novel aesthetic experiences. Little danger existed that symbols might become substitute phenomena. Though "stillness" was the character, a dirge-like quality did not prevail. Since all persons possess an Inner Light, equal accessibility followed, at least in theory; therefore, elaborate educational institutions, curricular programs, content, and native talent were not necessitated for the Quaker religiously guarded education in silence. The lives of ministering Quakers such as Joshua Evans, Hugh Judge, and John Hunt gave abundant evidence.

The practice of silence as a basic component of a religiously guarded education mandated a simplicity ("economy") in educating the Society's members and in sketching the paradigm Quaker. Most decidedly, silence which was so basic to their education ideal imposed constraints. Those constraints as they understood constraints derived from the basic premise that the highest and only source of happiness for man existed in the Light and the practice of silence. Man didn't need the arts and elaborate sciences for his happiness. Not only were these not required, they were regarded as destructive of a man's discernment of Truth: its beauty, its unity, and its simplicity. Such active development of the inquiring mind was destructive of true

silence. Merchandizing or trade was no less destructive. Earning a living by as well as living by one's "wits," to use a common expression among these ministers, were incongruous with the Inner Light and silence. Furthermore, earning a living by one's "wits" by being a lawyer, professor, artist, or merchant, for example, had destructive effects upon the poor as those professions supposedly were sustained only by "grinding the faces of the poor." Little wonder the antipathy grew toward politicians, magistrates, artists, academicians, merchants, and thinkers (Paine, Channing, et al.) The traditional Quaker opposition to the lawyer and the "hireling" clergy was always present. The antipathies to the hireling clergy increased tremendously now and with new impetus--revivalism.

Much formal and informal learning, as might be expected, was judged by the standard of silence to be distracting to the individual's pursuit of true silence, or the "still small voice within." Quite consistent with their position, learned men--formally prepared or self-educated--received disdainful remarks; so likewise the books, the learned organizations, and other symbols of learning and "high" culture were cited and described disdainfully from time to time. The remarks were always in the Quaker low-key, never vitriolic nor acerbic. The learning of high culture, and for that matter popular culture as well, were viewed with extreme skepticism or rejected entirely by many Quaker ministers from John Churchman's years to those of Elias Hicks and Hugh Judge. The rejection was, thus, more encompassing than the old Foxian disdain, i.e., "to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less, and look more after the dissenting people."[14] Much learning of both "high culture" and "popular culture" presupposed the mental faculties as the important, if not the only faculty of man worthy of development, for all spheres of life: religious, moral, political, economic, and recreational. The Inner Light was accorded in theory as in practice no place, or most certainly an insignificant role, in those learnings. Learning as found in the university, the Latin Grammar school, and the English school in many cases came under attack at this point in time not for its pagaism nor for its appropriateness for university bred ministers, but its failure to accord the Inner Light its primacy and thus the failure to cultivate silence from thinking as well as the failure to cultivate the silence of speaking. The learning that America's leaders were pursuing, whether or not through institutional arrangements such as through schools or other arrangements less formal, was for the purpose of teaching and encouraging the mind to be active as well as assuming its primacy in public and private affairs, the very antithesis of Hugh Judge's silence from speaking and thinking. With the mind called to be active, the still small voice became remote and less available--more difficult to be heard, at least so assumed ministers such as John Churchman, Hugh Judge, Joshua Evans, John Hunt, Elias Hicks, and innumerable other travelling ministers. Their background, I repeat, and/or their tone regarding learning formed a marked contrast to Fox, to Penn, to logan, to Story, to Chalkley, to the Norris family, to the Pembertons, the Emlens, and most certainly to a

John Kinsey. With the mind beckoned or summoned to be active by the pedagogue, the still small voice became remote and thus less available–more difficult to be heard. What a marked contrast also to the beliefs basic to Reverend Smith's **College of Mirania**, to Franklin's academy (for that matter his Junto or to his Almanac), and to the proposals from Rush, Jefferson, and others!

This perspective regarding the relationships between learning and silence extended to those who pursued learnings on their own, the self-educated American. To illustrate, a barber attending John Churchman in the 1750's displayed gleefully to his patron, John, his most recent accomplishment in algebra which he had attained on his own. To the barber, Churchman related, "it might be useful to some but that I could take up grubbing, or follow the plough, without studying algebra; as he might also shave a man, etc., without it. Besides I found it a more profitable and delightful study, to be quietly employed in learning the law of the Lord written in mine own heart, so that I might walk before him acceptably." Other ministers expressed the same concern; however, that concern was expressed as a rule less directly and more temperately. Regardless the differences in tone, the concern was the same: Learning, either formally or informally acquired, was becoming a substitute pursuit and discipline for the Light and its accompanying demand for silence.

Beside the contrast with an Adams, a Jefferson, a Franklin, and a Rush, this position expressed by Churchman was in vivid contrast to those ideals and practices pursued by the merchant Quaker families: the Pembertons, the Logans, the Wistars, the Walns, and the Drinkers. Churchman's attack like the attack by those subsequent ministers down to and including Elias Hicks was not just upon the leading Quaker and non-Quaker family styles; it was a denunciation of all Americans, particularly the Quakers, who aspired and pressed themselves and/or their children into mastering the values, priorities, knowledge, tastes, and habits (intellectual and non-intellectual) prevalent among America's new heroes of politics and wealth. For Churchman, the world of America's new elites was notably "more political than devout," to use Benezet's succinct phrasing. Those desiring to emulate the new class of leaders were indeed seeking to enter a world of learnings antithetical in spirit to the Inner Light's universe with its three kinds of silence. Churchman, Woolman, Evans, Hunt, Hicks, Comley, and a multitude of other ministers sketched another world through their talks, journals, letters, and lastly their own lives.

The model person which the "still small voice" directed them to sketch through their own lives and pens was characterized by the most important principle and virtue, silence. Without the least doubt, the traditional Quaker principles and virtues were important elements in the model person: charity, honesty, toleration, and equality, to mention a few; however, basic to these, of course, was silence as a primary principle and virtue. Those traditional virtues, including

plainness and simplicity, were always to be rooted deeply and profoundly in true silence as each person conducted his daily affairs rather than being rooted in reason's varied calculations. The good or model person avoided assiduously all those entanglements which distracted him from hearing the Light's directives or for that matter encouraged him to compromise the Light's dictates. Furthermore, the model person directed others in all walks and levels of life to do likewise. A president or a monarch were no exceptions. The appropriate education for the model person wedded him to the Light and its directives as to what were the charitable, plain, tolerate, acts in daily affairs. The inappropriate education, on the other hand, wedded one to reason and to the world's customs and fashions as to charity, honesty, plainness, simplicity, toleration, and equality.

As stated, the multitude of ministers sketched the model man in their own lives. For example, they frequently refused to participate in politics accompanied by recommendations for others to follow the Light's directive. The refusal embraced more than just office-holding. To be heard were admonitions to avoid voting, to avoid political debates and conversations, and lastly in some cases to avoid reading all newspapers and pamphlets since the latter were as a rule political in nature. What a contrast to Jefferson's prescriptions to Edward Carrington in 1787 regarding newspapers! The world of politics purportedly accustomed the individual to living without the Light's promptings. Furthermore, the individual participation assisted others in never being still and knowing the small voice within. A political career for the young male was rejected as being acceptable, and since much of their civic participation for the young was likewise rejected as being acceptable, the child's education was not designed specifically for nor justified to maximize his participation in civic affairs. The appropriate education, at least, minimized such participation rather than maximized it. Those teachers and those schools having submitted to political goals as their primary end were to be avoided and were criticized rather boldly by them from time to time.

In the economic realm, travelling ministers such as Benjamin Lay, John Woolman, John Hunt, Joshua Evans, and a host of others sketched once again by their lives the model man and the most basic virtue of silence. To protect the Light, Woolman like others avoided those occupations and business transactions which might distract them from the "still small voice" as well as from the various indirect ways in which the Light's directives might be compromised. The drive to amass wealth through trade, farming, or land speculation was to be restrained. Through personal consultations, others were encouraged by them to restrain such tendencies. As one might surmise, both the pursuit and care of wealth subjected one, his family, and his heirs to excessive distractors and to compromising situations almost daily as well as afforded little time for "true silent waitings." Much more modest occupations were to be pursued, but there again these occupations were to be pursued within the constraints of not compromising the Light's

directive or of not pursuing the occupation with over-riding zeal. Almost equally as important among their concerns were those innumerable little transactions in all the most modest occupational careers: cloth dying, teaching, farming, tailoring, and leather processing, to mention a few. Individuals with such skills were not to entail themselves in aiding their client's vain hopes and aspirations distracting to or censored by the Inner Light's directives. The customer's Light, without regard to his being a Quaker or an aspirant, was to be afforded attentive regard equal to that of the laborer's Inner Light.

To convey the full range of economic proscriptions for one's life, the ministers cited additional implications deriving from silence. The purchases of goods for one's home or business which bore taxes for the support of war, which involved slavery, or which involved abuses to the poor were compromising to one's own Light. Those purchases were also compromising, I repeat, to those Inner Lights well beyond one's immediate contact. The same was believed by Woolman when a person travelled on ships or used goods transported on ships which had at some time transported Blacks, ammunition, rum, molasses, and other matters. The same attitude encompassed trade ships which were equipped to engage in battle. Little wonder Woolman was reticent regarding his passage to England. Woolman was by no means alone in his reticency. Woolman and others of his Mt. Holly Friends rejected the use of dyes including black itself for their apparel. Woolman himself reprimanded the son of Rachel Wilson (Rachel Wilson being a famous English minister) for his providing dyed fabrics for the vain fashions of the English. In his attack upon the luxuries of fine furniture, carriages, dwellings, eating utensils, etc., Woolman refused to accept these and upon one occasion even at the point of purchasing steerage accommodations for his one and only trip abroad in his last years rather than join Samuel Emlen (a Philadelphia Quaker minister) in his compartment aboard the same ship. The compartment's ornate carvings offended Woolman's Inner Light; the cost of passage in a compartment would entangle him in the market and labor for such luxuries. Furthermore, his Light's sensitivity directed regard for the effect upon the poor laborers who supply such luxuries as wood carvings, and it directed more regard for those shipmates in the steerage quarters.

As if insufficient, still other examples of proscriptions came forth from their lives and pens. For example, ministers like Woolman, Churchman, Lay and others rejected all personal purchases of luxuries and refrained from accepting generous extensions of courtesy in which luxuries were involved. Quite commonly, the more radical Quaker ministers not only refused to purchase finery for their homes, but they refused such offers of hospitality by generous hosts. Offers were rejected to travel to meetings or elsewhere in fine carriages, choosing to continue on foot despite the inclement weather. Other ministers were criticized for accepting offers to travel to meetings in such luxury. Once again, the Light's directive, according to these ministers, was never to entangle one's life in the commercial world's distractors from true

silence, directly or indirectly. The Inner Light also directed their denunciation of those who became so entangled: the merchant or innkeeper, for example, who bought or sold strong drink or the grain for its manufacture, since such left the poor without sufficient grain for bread to inflated the prices of bread for the poor; the merchant or peddler who brought inferior goods into the remote regions, charging exorbitant prices from the destitute families on the frontier, many of which would have insufficient money left over for bread; the Quaker minister who searched for a rich wife; the father, whether of means or of modest means, who apprenticed his son to a master with a view to enhancing the child's future in the world of business or trades; the men of means or of modest means who imposed excessive labor upon their children, their tenants, their apprentices, and servants, thereby leaving the laborers without sufficient time, without a rested body, and without sufficient freedom from basic needs in order to hear the "small voice within"; the men and women who could afford small gifts but did not extend relief to the indigent or the dislocated (such as the French Arcadians); the ministering Quaker, male or female, who expressed a concern for luxuries in their clothing, dwelling, and furniture despite the supposedly plain style, or who availed themselves liberally of the host's offers of luxuries; the adult who pressed an education or an inheritance in land, money, and/or goods suitable for the cultivated classes and the world of business.

To summarize, the model man as these Quaker ministers so sketched him acquired a particular education, an education in submitting to the Light and its discipline of silence. Consequently, under the rubrics of a religiously guarded education, the "civil and the useful" came to mean educating a person to be among but apart from persons, a people among but apart from people. In other words, it was an education in becoming a "peculiar" person, a "peculiar" people, i.e., a particular or unique kind of person. Not only did this mean submitting one's life to the Inner Light, but the "civil and useful" education must now mean yielding and attending to the example of those teachers and adult leaders who had submitted to the Light rather than submitting to other models and sources of enlightenment. Perhaps most importantly, the "civil and useful" education meant disciplining one's mind, one's wants, and one's whole life to one end–learning not to want after what was unnecessary for and/or distractive to the Inner Light. The common theme running through those pamphlets and letters by men such as John Woolman, Joshua Evans, and others was that the model man's education (formally and/or informally acquired) consisted in learning from exemplars and from his own Inner Light how not to want and how to provide minimally only for his basic needs as the Light discerned without endangering any person's Inner Light, i.e., its monitoring, teaching, and lastly its need for silence. And so, it was that the "civil and the useful" was not to embrace the hopes and fashions of eighteenth century Americans, those hopes and aspirations being symbolized in the prominent leaders or heroes of politics, business, science, the military, the arts, and lastly mass culture.

As might well be expected with this conception of the ideal man, many came forth with indictments of the formal and informal education of children in the Society. Woolman, Benezet, and many others charged that true education was neglected everywhere: that is to say, neglect of the Light as the true basis of all teaching and education, neglect of silence, and lastly neglect of the Light's directive for all education to "learn to make their wants few."[15] Furthermore, so went the charge, the people's eyes and the eyes of the children were being "blinded with the love of pleasure, ease, or profit."[16] The pervasive "desire of heaping up of riches and being esteemed learned and wise" rather than the desire for simplicity, according to Benezet, was among the truly tragic effects of that neglect, especially tragic since "upon the whole the unlearned are freer from snares and have a better chance to be chosen."[17] The neglect was expressed not just in the Society's failure to establish and to finance sshools, thereby allowing the children to attend non-Quaker schools, but more importantly the neglect was evident in the lack of attention to the teachers, the books, the curriculum, and lastly the teaching methods.

The object of these ministers and their associates like Anthony Benezet, James Hamton, and others was "to promote the education of . . . youth, on its right basis . . . ."[18] Many standard recommendations as to the right basis came forth in their letters and journals. Among the proposals were: the Society itself assuming the responsibility for the support of schools rather than relying upon voluntary efforts of families or friends; school committees appointed through the meeting for the supervision of the schools; higher pay for teachers to attract and retain the better teachers; reduction of the teacher-pupil ratio in order to protect both the student and the teacher from overextension; greater care in the selection of teachers in order to assure that the teacher has submitted to the Light and its discipline for governing his own life and that of his school; greater caution of admitting non-Quaker children and their parents who reject or express no care for the Light and its need for silence; family visitations to advise parents providing improper home environments and care for their children; frequent visitations and meetings by elders and ministers with the teachers and the pupils; the provision of boarding the young students from afar.

Their concern for a right basis went well beyond the above standard proposals since the object of all education was "the principle of Truth" (i.e., the Light, it requirement for silence, and lastly its requirement to excel at not wanting the things of this world). Of course, an important step toward putting Quaker education on the right basis was denouncing to friends, leaders, and the public those trends and practices inconsistent with the model person outlined by the Quaker ministers. An example was Benezet's attack on classical education which more and more Quakers were seeking for their children following 1740. Philadelphia was the leading center to which many Quaker children were sent to complete their education, particularly an education in the learned languages and literature. Thus, it was

particularly appropriate for Benezet, long a teacher in Philadelphia, to denounce the trend among Quakers to pursue a classical education. After all, he was for many years in the employ of the Penn Charter School Board which operated a Latin grammar school. Furthermore, Benezet, being active in the Quaker meetings as well as being assigned by the government special responsibilities for the French Arcadians, incurred many disappointments in securing relief from those so eager for their children's future education. In 1783, Benezet wrote John Pemberton expressing his position:

> "as to the expediency of putting our children to the learned languages, except where the study of Phisic may make it necessary, I am convinced had better be avoided, convinced as I am, by long experience, that it hurts the manners of the youth, as well from the corrupting liberties taken in those schools, as from the tendency that study has to raise their minds above that simplicity of heart and manners, to which we as a people, in divine favor have been called. It also generally causes them to slight, in themselves, and others, which is of low degrees, tho' generally safest for such who are desirous of following Christ in the regeneration; as being that state which is favoured with a predominant call. 'Not many noble, wise nor learned,' but the poor, the low and humble God has chosen."[19]

Continuing in the same letter, Benezet adds that "romantic and mad notions of heroism" are instilled in the young mind "from the use of those Heathen Authors Ovid, Virgil, Homer &c . . . which nourishes the spirit of War in youth . . . ."[20] Of course, the spirit of war and related models of heroism were antithetical to the spirit of a John Woolman or a Joshua Evans. More importantly, the point of the classical education was equally antithetical to the Quaker's paradigm person, a model person with its primacy of the Light and "true Silent waiting." Though less extensively, the Penn Charter Schools' Latin grammar school program came under more direct attack by its tutor, John Wilson, when he resigned in 1769. In his letter to the school board, he urged: "instead of dissipating your Revenues in humouring the Pride of rich men and debauching their offspring with the rubbish of Paganism let it be your study as it will be your happiness to promote the increase of Christian knowledge."[21]

Like other Quaker critics, Benezet's efforts to set forth the right basis for a religiously guarded education did not terminate with an attack upon classical education. The spelling books and grammar books came under Benezet's attack for their use of unnecessary distinctions from the teaching of Latin. Benezet's **Pennsylvania Spelling Book** was an example of an attempt to remove those distinctions. Regarding his speller, Benezet wrote to Robert Pleasant in 1780: "I desire to see such

a knowledge of the English Language taught in our Schools, as may make the use of the learned Languages unnecessary; long experience having convinced me, that the means of obtaining them, as well as a proficiency therein, has a natural tendency to wed to the world, and beget an enmity to the cross . . . ."[22]

Quite consistent with the Quaker ministers, Benezet's basis of attack was quite a contrast to the position asserted by more prominent contemporaries such as a Franklin or a Jefferson. The base of attack by Benezet and others of Woolman's persuasion was from the principle of the Inner Light and its companion principles and virtues of silence, simplicity, equality, and toleration, to mention a few. All spellers, all grammars, and all curricula should be designed with one main purpose in mind: "the bent and aim of all the lessons, from the beginning to the end, to be such as tended to mend the heart,,,, as well as convince the judgment, by raising in the tender mind, principles of compassion and tenderness, as well to the brute creation, as to their fellow men; a nobility of mind, and love of virtue; and so on gradually, rising higher and higher, till the language and precepts, both in matter and language, are such as our best authors afforded."[23] In short, this base of attack implied considerable constraints upon the child's education compared to that of other bases proposed by contemporaries, especially when that base of attack conjoined the Inner Light, Silence, and lastly the model man.

The model man's education, as indicated earlier, was incompatible with an elaborate education. Higher education continued to be rejected as other Quakers had done generations before. Thus, the classical education was to be endorsed in only the exceptional case, medicine. The model man's education did not mandate the modern languages excepting in very, very few cases. The model education of Benezet and others suggested and encouraged, recognized next to an education in good principles some basic education in mathematics, personal account-keeping, history and so forth as long as it was accomplished within the Inner Light's directives and constraints regarding silence and the unnecessary.[24] History, for example, was not to be taught for a politico-moral purpose--to teach the virtue of a republic over a monarchy, to celebrate the moral values and virtues necessary for a republic, and many others of similar nature. History was for a religio-moral purpose in the world, as was the case for other religious groups, but for the Quaker a different basis (the Inner Light and silence) was to guide the study of history accompanied by different moral-spiritual values and/or different interpretations of common values compared to other religious groups including German sects. Silence imposed another kind of constraint upon the model man's education. His formal schooling was to provide opportunities for silence, in other words, a "centering in on silence." This meant that there were to be periods set aside from time to time during each day for the practice of silence. Equally important was the study of the life styles and deeds of noted practitioners of silence. Materials as found in

Thomas Wagstaffe's **Piety Promoted in Brief Memorials and Dying Expressions, of Some of the People called Quakers** (eighth and ninth parts) were to be used. Informal activities on the part of students were not exempted from the constraints. Because debate seemed to sharpen certain mental faculties and tendencies so unnecessary and potentially injurious to the Inner Light and silence, John Baldwin (a teacher) like others admonished a group of students at the Westtown boarding school from practicing oratory.

Never to be forgotten, however, was that the mathematics, the history, and the account-keeping, while acceptable, unlike oratory was not for enhancing the pupil's civic, social, and economic adaptation and participation. The object was not the models represented by a Washington, a Rush, a Priestley, a Jefferson, a Franklin, a William Logan, an Israel Pemberton, a John Kinsey, nor an Isaac Norris III. The object of all civil and useful education, basic and otherwise, was the model represented by the **Teacher** and **Carpenter** from Nazareth, by the Rechabites of the Old Testament, by a John Woolman, or by a Joshua Evans,[25] another of the Mt. Holly Friends.

NOTES

1 *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920; *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1923.

2 New York, Harper and Row, 1970.

3 New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1974.

4 Among the examples were the Free Quakers, the so-called Nicholite Quakers, and the radical group of travelling ministers around which this paper is centered. The latter group was urging an unique educational separatist position based conceptually in silence for the Society's reform. The Free Quakers, withdrawing from the Society, supported patriotic war efforts during the Revolutionary War.

5 Another example arose in slavery. Non-slaveholding for ministering Quakers in the mold of a Sandiford or a Churchman was explicitly insufficient unlike for George Fox and his time. Testimony of equality for Quaker members must be extended by the Society from non-slaveholding to rejecting merchandise produced by or sold by those holding slaves, to rendering services such as writing wills for those refusing to free slaves.

6 For this paper, the expression "minister" or "travelling minister" refers to those men or women bearing "heavey concern" (Inner Light's weight) to whom certificates were granted by the appropriate Quaker meetings. The certificate indicated inner consensus among the signees of compliance with the individual's heavy concern as well as attesting to his good character and good standing in the meeting. No sacraments served to define the minister's role such as marriage or baptism; so likewise, no sacrament of ordination combined with education provided a base for ministerial authority.

7 Samuel Fothergill to James Wilson, Warrington, 11th *mo.*/9th da./1756 in Gross Crosfield, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Samuel Fothergill, with selections from His Correspondence*, London: Charles Gilpin, 1843, pp. 281-82.

8 An inexhaustible array of examples came forth. Joshua Brown incarcerated close to three months (1778) for entering South Carolina without a pass (bearing only the ministering certificate) and for refusing the oath. He was granted unlimited freedom to have visitors, to hold meetings in the jail, and to travel away from the jail during the day so long as he returned at night to the jail. Another example, William Mathews, was informed by the President of the Pennsylvania Council that if his Inner Light refused to allow him to request permission for this travel to England he would most likely have all his property confiscated and would be tried for treason upon his return, as it was supposedly high treason to pass behind enemy lines without permission. William Mathews did not alter his plans.

9 Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Kercheval, Jan./19th/1810 in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Washington, D.C.: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1903, Vol. XII, pp. 345-348. See also letter to Marquis De La Fayette, May/14th/1817, Vol. XV, pp. 115-116.

10 While silence tended to prevail regarding silence, silence did not imply a constraint upon "speaking one's peace" as the Light directed regarding slavery or war, for example, to one's neighbor or to a Washington and a Jefferson. Silence did mandate constraints, and joy in those constraints regarding the world of gossip, business, etc.

11 *Memoirs and Journal of Hugh Judge, Member of the Society of Friends, and Minister of the Gospel; containing an Account of His Life in the Work of the Ministry*, Philadelphia: J. Richards, 1841, p. 90.

12 Brookes, George S., *Friend Anthony Benezet* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. 492-495.

13 *Ibid.*

14 West, Jessamyn (editor), *The Quaker Reader*, New York: Viking Press, 1962, p. 46.

15 Brookes, p. 229.

16 Brookes, p. 331.

17 Brookes, p. 350.

18 Brookes, p. 370.

19 Brookes, p. 389.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Tolles, Frederick B., *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchant of Colonial Philadelphia 1682 1763*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., pp. 150-151.

22 Brookes, p. 351.

45

23 Brookes, p. 369.

24 Those constraints for a teacher were often difficult, especially if the teacher were committed to silence and if children expected fun. James Hamton's diary, apparently never intended for publication, indicated numerous struggles with his Inner Light following a day of frivolous laughter and talk with children or play at ball. See *Friends' Miscellany* I: 5, 6, 7 (Eighth month, 1831), pp. 193-299. Also James Hamton's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (n.p., n.d.). An excellent copy of the latter book is in The Friends' Historical Library at Swarthmore College. This copy belonged to John Comly, cousin to James Hamton and an editor of the *Friends' Miscellany*. Both Comly and Hamton were teachers.

25 Joshua Evans was noted for his quietude and for his challenge to the Quaker spirit for his wearing of a beard, a situation evoking an investigation. Besides these matters, he often spoke in his travels regarding the more specific aspects of a religiously guarded education. He too thought "it very right to have the children properly instructed in true spelling, reading and writing the English language; so that, if *otherwise qualified through the operation of Truth on their minds, they may be fitted for clerks, and other services among their fellow-members, when necessary* [italics added]: also, that they be taught the knowledge of figures in arithmetic, so as to enable them to keep, and cast up accounts." The latter of "casting accounts" was not for marketability but for personal use. Immediately following this remark, he hastened to add that this was "enough school-learning for our children." The content of the reading was not to "contain instructions or directions to carry on arguments like lawyers, priests, or legislators; nor such as relate to the exploits of warriors . . . ." Furthermore, accompanying this, he urged for a program of work which "accustomed them early to a steady course of industry" and self-reliance, i.e., "teaching them to wait upon themselves, and to depend on their own care and labour to supply their necessities." Especially important for young Quakers when approaching adulthood, was "to learn husbandry, or some of the useful trades, and common handicraft employments; without leading them on in the expectation of inheriting large estates, or indulgence in high, luxurious living–extensive trading at foreign places, or markets, or living at the expense of the toil and sweat of the poor of the land or other degraded and oppressed fellow creatures." Of course, through his journal, Evans repeated his belief, *whether done sumptuously or modestly*, that a life utilizing flowery-things, looking-glasses, tobacco, tea, rum, silks, wine, dyes, carriages, fine carpets, and other such items was "luxurious living." Such a life was not possible without extorting oppressive labor and prices from the poor. Of course, the "high trades or occupations" pursued by the young such as medicine, law, politics, and merchandising were particularly linked to such luxurious living. At other points, land speculation and large farming are included. Skilled laborers were by no means exempt from this criticism. *Friends' Miscellany* XI:1 (4th month, 1837), pp. 67, 178, and 179.

BROOK FARM: A LESSON IN COOPERATIVE EDUCATION

by

Charles E. Alberti
Lecturer in Foundations of Education
at Loyola University of Chicago &
Editor, THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATIONS
OF EDUCATION QUARTERLY

By contemporary definition "cooperative education" is a combination program of study and practice. This type of program is usually conducted on an alternating schedule with provision for on-the-job training and correlated school instruction. As applied to the Brook Farm experiment (1841-1847) however, cooperative education takes on additional aspects.

The paper that follows can be divided into three parts. The first indicates the social and religious characteristics leading up to the experiment's formation. Secondly, the paper treats the Farm's inception. The bulk of the writing is in the last section, which emphasizes the teachers, students, curriculum, process, and extracurricular educational activities of the frm. The notion of cooperation in opposition to competition is a central theme throughout the work.

To begin then let us consider the times. Brook Farm was the outgrowth of social unrest like many other experiments of the time.[1] Though not a religious community, Brook Farm was enthusiastically religious in spirit and purpose. "The faith in the divinity of natural impulse may have been excessive, but emphasis was so strongly laid on the divinity that the common dangers of following impulse were avoided."[2] The experiment reflected the liberal religious thought of many New Englanders. The ideology of New England had stressed a liberal freedom from popular social evils; that is, from African slavery, domestic slavery, the evils associated with unpaid labor, vice, competition, and the exploitations of trade and commerce. The educated as well as the unlearned and poor felt that the republic should stand foremost among the nations for justice, culture and righteousness.[3] "In rejecting their fathers' hell they became the more zealous to make a heaven of this world . . ."[4]

The mind of New England, which had been under the watchful eye and direction of theological conservatism was in the process of questioning. The deterministic theology of the Calvinists was especially open to question by this developing liberal philosophy. The New England ideology was expressed by a "flood of romantic speculation with its humanitarian emphasis on the potential excellence of man and the equality of human rights."[5] While European revolutions tended to

be physical and violent, the New England revolution leaned towards the characteristic of representing a nonviolent renaissance. It was expressed by the literati in speeches, letters, magazines, journals, and books.

The initial stages of the developing Transcendental philosophy had been more or less accepted prior to the 1830's. In early Boston, Transcendentalism "'. . . was accepted under the form of antinomianism by Joseph Cotton, and Anne Hutchinson. By the Friends it was preached with eagerness, and it was nobly exemplified by William Penn . . ."[6] The famous New England clergyman, Jonathan Edwards, had ". . . maintained that Christian holiness is an inward and not an outward process, to be secured by direct contact of the soul with God."[7] Samuel Hopkins, another New England theologian, who had been a disciple of Edwards, carried on his teachings.

The effect of Hopkin's teachings was made clear by the Boston Unitarian clergyman, William Ellery Channing, in a sermon preached by the distinguished minister in Newport, where he said:

> In forming his religious opinions . . . he was superior to human authority; he broke away from human creeds; he interpreted God's word for himself; he revered reason, the oracle of God within him. He maintained that all holiness, all moral excellence consists in benevolence, or disinterested devotion to the greatest good; that this is the character of God; that love is the only principle of the divine administration.. . . . He called us to seek our own happiness as well as that of others in a spirit of impartial benevolence; . . .[8]

Channing believed that man's mind was capable of continuous growth, thus he believed in the possibility of perfection in the course of human life. Dr. Channing's conservative thought was following the same liberal shift as that of Boston. The problems of the factory-system, competition, and the problems facing the poor could no longer be ignored; the conscience of Channing and other Bostonians was being disturbed.

Dr. Channing and his nephew, William Henry Channing sought ways to destroy the worship of money; elevate the depressed classes; remove the evils of competition and somehow convince people that they were parts of a great whole, bound to work for the welfare of this whole, and promote the union of labor and culture.[9] With the notion of elevating the human spirit and mind, Dr. Channing was regarded as the founder of the Transcendental movement in New England.[10]

While the Unitarians followed the Channings in a liberalized religion, they followed a conservative direction in most everything else. Dr. Channings "adoration of goodness" was restrained by Yankee thrift and the serious conservative concerns of practical business and getting on in the world. Thus the Unitarian faith tended to gather its supporters from the prosperous rather than the needy, from the Federalists rather than the Democrats.

Unitarianism was given new life by Transcendentalism. With the spread of Transcendentalism, the negative aspect of Unitarianism became positive and broke with the respectable conservatism of commercial congregations. Channing's theology cautiously took shape from two ideas – man's excellence and God's beneficence, securing his ideas of humane life from Rousseau, Cousin and Fourier.

Many Unitarian ministers stepped down from their pulpits. It was a symptom of the time. For some the reason was a mistaken calling,[11] while for others it was due to dissatisfaction with their congregations. In his final address from the pulpit the Unitarian clergyman George Ripley said that he felt the spirit of God was no longer in the churches and that the creed of organized religion was little concerned with the poor and the downtrodden. He held that if he could not show in his own life and works the hate of oppression of man by man, his value for moral worth as opposed to a mere outward condition, and his belief that indulgence of pride was a sin against the Holy Spirit, then he must take leave from his position as minister.[12]

Following Ripley's withdrawal from the pulpit, William Henry Channing took counsel with him on whether it would be possible to bring cultivated, thoughtful people together, and make a society that deserved the name – a society that would be based on cooperation.[13] Ripley's plan sought to locate a farm where agriculture and education would be mixed and become the foundation of a new system of social life with everyone in the community taking part in its labor. As a Unitarian he could not agree with the ecstasies of the millennialists, rather, he wanted man to attain his millennium on earth here and now.[14]

Ripley's plan for the development of his community disclosed that the following would be necessary: (1) the community should be formed to promote the great purpose of human culture more effectually; (2) the community should apply the principles of justice and love to social organizations; (3) it should substitute brotherly cooperation for selfish competition; (4) it should prevent anxiety in men by a competent supplying to them of necessary wants; (5) it should guarantee each other the means of support.[15] Ripley wanted men to be the same all year' round. This he knew would be impossible as long as men lived in a competitive economic world. "Not until they could live on weekdays as they lived on Sundays would it be possible for man to achieve moral and social progress."[16] The Transcendentalists themselves had felt justified in retaining the Unitarian name because they regarded their faith as essentially Christian in character, and had carefully confined their differences with Unitarian orthodoxy to the question of the sources of religious authority.

In the summer of 1840 the Ripleys, George and his wife Sophia, boarded on a milk farm (the Ellis farm) in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, a town nine miles from Boston. Approximately one year later the farm was bought from Charles and Maria Ellis, containing about one-hundred and seventy acres of land.[17] The Ripleys felt as if they had found the place to carry out what had become their greatest desire, that is, to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose social relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than could be led amidst the pressure of competitive institutions.[18]

During the first week in April of 1841 a few cultivated Bostonians took leave to the roomy homestead in West Roxbury. Along with George Ripley came his wife Sophia, George's elder sister Miss Marianne Ripley, George P. Bradford, Warren Burton, Nathaniel Hawthorne, the Minot Pratts, Elise Barker, and William Brockway Allen.[19]

Cooperation, equality and independence were key words upon which the constitution of the community was built. To establish external relations of life upon the basis of wisdom and purity and to apply the principles of justice and love to their social organization were central themes.

One year after Ripley had written to Emerson indicating that ". . . .the most complete instruction shall be given, from the first rudiments to the highest culture." he announced that they were now in full operation as a family of workers, teachers and students.[20] The main object of the Brook Farm association was to realize the Christian ideal of life by making such industrial, social and educational arrangements as would promote economy, combine leisure for study with healthful and honest work, equalize positions and avert collisions of caste. The cooperative spirit of the community was in strict contradistinction with the mores of competitive American society. Brook Farm was an association. "The members were not called upon to divide their worldly possessions among their associates, but all contributed such portion as they thought they could afford towards the support of the institution.[21] All met on an equal basis and one could find men and women freely involved in the same type of work, study, and leisure activities. The Farmers lived in an atmosphere of fraternity, free from competitive society. Freedom was an important tenet of the Brook Farm philosophy. The interpretation of the term "Freedom" for the Farmers however, was the freedom to become wise and good, self-sacrificing, and kind. The experiment was a conscientious attempt to combine cooperative labor with democratic living and the elevation of intellectual improvement.[22]

The first six months of the experiment were spent in getting ready for the "cultivation of the intellect." The matter of running the school at the outset fell largely on the shoulders of Mrs. Ripley.[23] On September 29, 1841, some six months after the Farm's inception the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education was organized as a kind of joint stock company.[24] The first article of the subscribers of

the association declared that "The name and style of this association shall be The Subscribers to the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education; . . ."[25] The harmonization of labor and intellect was put into operation.

Most of the time the only source of income was the school. The school's establishment was often a dominant focal point of the movement.

The school needed no other advertising than that afforded by the names of the teachers associated with it.[26] The authorities at Harvard became interested in the preparatory school, for they knew that the first scholar in the class of 1823, George Ripley, would demand and maintain a high level of scholarship.[27]

At the beginning of the fall term of 1842, the following people were nominated for positions of teaching at the Farm: George Ripley, instructor in philosophy and mathematics; George P. Bradford, instructor in Belles Lettres; John S. Dwight, instructor in Latin and Music; John S. Brown, instructor in theortical and practical agriculture; Sophia W. Ripley, instructor in history and modern languages; Marianne Ripley, teacher of the primary school; Abigail Morton and Georgiana Bruce, teachers of the infant school; Hannah B. Ripley, instructor in drawing; and Charles A. Dana, instructor in Greek and German.[28] Miss Amelia B. Russell gave lessons in dancing.[29]

George Willis Cooke quotes George P. Bradford as saying: "We were floated away by the tide of young life around us."[30] The classes and days were filled with affection.[31] There was an enlistment of sympathy on the part of the young towards their teachers who were not only of high caliber but devoted to an ideal. The pupils found there a love of mankind and learned that the unification of man with God was a fact and not a dream.[32]

Under the school's organization there was an infant school for children under six; a primary school for those under ten; and a preparatory school for those children whose purpose it was to take a regular course of study.[33] The preparatory school prepared youths for college in six years, otherwise the studies were elective.[34] John S. Brown was available to teach a course in theoretical and practical agriculture, which covered a period of three years.[35]

Education at Brook Farm began in the infant school, which in reality was a kindergarten – only the Farmers were not familiar with the term nor the work of Froebel.[36] It was in a way formed out of necessity and demand. The children who were too old for the nursery and too young for the school required some sort of provision while their mothers were at work.[37] The person best suited to fill any position at the Farm was directed to the undertaking by natural selection.[38] In this case Miss Abby Morton was one of the ablest teachers for the position. She would arrange games, tell stories, sing

songs, and arrange lessons to aid the childrens health.[39] Her first objective was to make the children happy and contented.[40] A genial training of their spontaneous playful activities was in order.

The juvenile minds were drilled to acquire the habit of paying attention. It was felt that those who were endowed with this gift were the men and women destined for prominent careers.[41] The training of observation, it was thought, would develop the habit of paying attention.[42] All the teachers made conscious efforts to win and hold the attention of their student bodies. This became an integrated part of the educational plan made with the intention of forcing the practice of concentrating the mind.[43] Students were allowed five minutes to go from one class to another.[44] Although there weren't any bells, the students paid attention to being punctual in their attendance. Punctuality was a rule which was enforced and required by the pressure of circumstances, that is, being in the right place at the right time.[45] The students were quick to feel the sympathetic interest in their pleasure and work and responded to it.[46]

During the early years of the experiment of chief disciplinary measures consisted in the deliberate attempt to arouse a sense of personal reponsibility.[47] Study-hours as such were nonexistent. Each pupil studied when and where it was possible.[48] The older students, busy with other chores in the morning, would give recitations during the latter part of the school day.[49]

The boisterousness of youth was almost nonexistent. The boys did not fight, as at other schools of the day. There were three primary reasons for this lack of activity found to be common at most other schools: (1) The usual artificial conditions were absent; (2) Everyone knew the seriousness of the experiment;[50] and (3) The students were treated with courtesy, and had few rules to bind them.[51] They were treated politely and in an adult fashion. As Emerson said:

> . . . each was master or mistress of his or her actions; happy, hapless anarchists. They expressed, after much perilous experience, the conviction that plain dealing was the best defense of manners and moral between the sexes. People cannot live together in any but necessary ways.[52]

Sincere cordiality was a prominent characteristic of the Farmers in their relations with one another.[53] The "enchantments of poetry with the facts of daily experience" was an outward showing of the inward spirit of Brook Farm. It was impossible to distinguish between the members and the pupils when it came to the matter of attachment to the Brook Farm cause.[54] This attachment strengthened cooperation among the members in all the activities of the Farm. The excellence of the teaching staff coupled with the cooperation and attention of the students made for an excellent school.

Charles Lane, who helped A. B. Alcott with his Fruitlands experiment, wrote in the *Dial* of January, 1844 that the school at Brook Farm was superior to almost every other educational institution in New England because it was based on the theories and practices of the Swiss educational pioneer, Pestalozzi.[55] Perhaps it is not altogether incorrect to assert that the seeds of their educational program and methodology lay here for it is known that George Ripley was no foreigner to Pestalozzi's work.

Nearly ten years before the Brook Farm experiment, Ripley had reviewed an exposition entitled "Henry Pestalozzi and His Plan of Education," by E. Biber for the Christian Examiner. Three characteristics of the new pedagogy were not only analyzed but praised by Ripley: Pestalozzi's insistence that education was a process of "leading out" potential characteristics; his emphasis on practical, vocational instruction and "object teaching," as opposed to verbalism; and his dependence on "mutual instruction."[56] Ripley also like the fact that sedentary occupations were exchanged for constant exercise in the open air.[57] Another point of interest which Ripley put into effect at the Farm was the Pestalozzian system of mutual instruction whereby: "Everyone was a teacher of what he knew, and everyone, even the head himself, a learner of what he knew not."[58]

They anticipated the theory of learning from experience of John Dewey.[59] They taught their children from life primarily and books secondarily, from observation and not from authority.[60] School became a place of exploration, discovery, and cooperation. The school had less of a structure than was thought desirable in most other places of instruction of the day.[61] The results however justified the methods carried out. The personal qualities and enthusiastic devotion to the teachers work commanded success.[62]

Georgianna Bruce confirmed the fact that the child-centered theory of education was constantly reinforced at the Farm.[63] She also added:

> The old system . . . poured everything into the memory and kept pouring without reference to natural capacity and powers of digestion and assimilation. The new plan was precisely the opposite of this: viz, to evolve all out of an open mind by appealing to intuition and reason.[64]

All of the studies at the Farm were made living subjects with the instructors enlarging on favorite themes.[65] Georgiana Bruce explains that, the subjects were a matter of choice, and the pressure so often attached in courses was not present at the Farm.[66] There always seemed to be a guardian on hand to give direction to whatever was going on.[67] Instructors would take time from their own leisure to assist others who could not be "smart" but who would be appreciative.[68] Every type of good nature was encouraged at the Farm.[69]

The Farm was practically an industrial school. Instruction in the useful arts was given regularly as part of the educational course.[70] Literature, drawing, music, and dancing were taught, but not with the same emphasis as the industrial arts.[71]

Botany was a popular part of the curriculum with those who felt their first real contact with natural beauty.[72] School work was done as far as was possible in the outdoors.[73] "They were interested in nature as an evidence of God's provision of a habitat congenial to man's soul and inhuman nature as a revelation of the spiritual affinity of man with God."[74]

Teachers and students alike loved to be in the open. As John Van Der Zee Sears, a former pupil at the Farm, wrote:

> All summer long classes were held in the amphitheater, under the elms, on the rocky or the grassy slopes of the Knoll. Of course there were many lessons that could be given only in classrooms, but recitations, examinations and mental exercises generally were relegated to regions beyond the threshold. Botany, geology, natural history and what was then called natural philosophy were taught among the rocks, in the woods and in the field with illustrations from nature.[75]

The students studying the flora on the Farm and in the neighborhood would also acquaint themselves with animal life and learn their habits and characteristics.[76] As Sears said: "Kindness to animals was taught and practiced first, last and all the time, . . ."[77] The curriculum and educational process was ongoing, never being limited by the walls of a classroom nor the boundries of a particular subject. They excelled not by competing but by strengthening and helping each other.

Education was not limited to the child population at the Farm. Shakespeare, Goethe, and Carlyle were favorite readings given in the evening adult classes at the Farm.[78] The scholarly members of the Association preferred evenings that were intellectually stimulating.[79] On these evenings George Ripley might elucidate Kant or Spinoza while his wife might take the opportunity to read Dante aloud in the original.[80] "There was a geniune passion for improvement in intellectual arts, a thirst for knowledge, a hunger for mental stimulus of a powerful kind."[81]

The economic problems that beset the Farmers opened the door to Albert Brisbane, the apostle of Fourierism in this country. During the Fourier period, the reputation of the school declined. According to Marianne Dwight it was not from want of talent to conduct the teaching art, but rather that the talent had been diverted for a time in the transition to Fourierism.[82] The ideas set forth by Charles Fourier were not accepted in total but rather constituted a selection of parts. Charles Fourier had believed that education should be communal, thus the child would be brought up as a member of a larger social unit.[83] In

a manner similar to Plato, Fourier wanted to destroy the family as a social and educational entity. In eliminating the immediate family unit a larger family unit was to be created. This was the purpose behind the building of the phalanstery, by the Farmers, which burned down leaving them bankrupt. Had the phalanstery been completed and utilized, education may have taken another turn in New England.

In the final analysis it can be considered that education at Brook Farm was a consensus of Owen's, Pestalozzi's, Emerson's and Fourier's ideas – their educational scheme took something from each of them. The experiment then put these ideas into action without realizing the subtle synthesis that developed. There was no separation of thought concerning the selection since they all directed themselves towards one cause. The teachers were sometimes students and the students were sometimes teachers. Their commitment was one although their intellectual backgrounds were varied. The curriculum, while transmitting certain material, was more concerned with process and thinking as a useful tool, than making a head of facts commensurate with knowledge. Perhaps the way to sum up the community's educational significance in relation to its people is to put forth Emerson's statement that:

> . . . they made what all people try to make, an agreeable place to live in. . . . There is agreement in the testimony that it was, to most of the associates, education; to many, the most important period of their life, the birth of valued friendships, their first acquaintance with the riches of conversation, their training in behavior.[84]

NOTES

1 Zoltan Haraszti, *The Idyll of Brook Farm* (Boston: Trustees of the Boston Public Library, 1937), p. 9.

2 Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *George Ripley* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882), p. 119.

3 John Thomas Codman, *Brook Farm Memoirs* (Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1894), p. 2.

4 Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930), p. 274.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 271.

6 George Willis Cooke, *An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial*, 2 Vols. (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1961) 1:1.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

9 Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1936), p. 106.

10 Cooke, *An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial*, p. 9.

11 Brooks, *The Flowering of New England*, p. 268.

12 Katherine Burton, *Paradise Planters* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1939), p. 149.

13 Codman, *Brook Farm Memoirs*, p. 3.

14 Victor Francis Calverton, *Where Angels Dared to Tread* (New York: Books for Libraries, 1941), p. 198.

15 Burton, *Paradise Planters*, p. 26.

16 Calverton, *Where Angels Dared to Tread*, p. 199.

17 Lindsay Swift, *Brook Farm* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900), p. 19.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

19 Codman, *Brook Farm Memoirs*, p. 8.

20 Frothingham, *George Ripley*, p. 308.

21 Amelia E. Russell, *Home Life of the Brook Farm Association* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1900), pp. 12-13.

22 James Harrison Wilson, *The Life of Charles A. Dana* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1907), p. 32.

23 Mary C. Crawford, *The Romance of Old New England Rooftrees* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1902), p. 296.

24 *Ibid.*

25 Brook Farm Records. Unpublished and incomplete Records of Brook Farm brought forward and deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society by Miss Effie Ellis, daughter of Charles and Maria M. Ellis, original owners of the Brook Farm property. Among these unpublished papers are the Articles of Association and the official copy of the First Constitution, and entries of all committee meetings recorded by the Secretary from April 1841 to October 1847. These documents were made available to the author through the courtesy of MHS via the microreproduction laboratory of M. I. T. libraries.

26 Anna M. Mitchell, "The Brook Farm Movement Viewed through the Perspective of Half a Century," *Catholic World*, 73 (New York: The Paulist Fathers', 1901):21.

27 Edith Roelker Curtis, *A Season in Utopia* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), pp. 70-71.

28 Codman, *Brook Farm Memoirs*, pp. 10-11.

29 Curtis, *A Season in Utopia*, p. 71.

30 George Willis Cooke, Ed., *Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1898), p. 9.

31 Burton, *Paradise Planters*, p. 150.

32 *Ibid.*

33 Swift, *Brook Farm*, p. 70.

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*

36 John Van Der Zee Sears, *My Friends at Brook Farm* (New York: Desmond FitzGerald, Inc., 1912), p. 107.

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*

39 Burton, *Paradise Planters*, p. 149.

40 Sears, *My Friends at Brook Farm*, p. 108.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

45 *Ibid.*

46 Swift, *Brook Farm*, p. 71.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

48 *Ibid.*

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

51 Ora Gannett Sedgwick, "A Girl of 16 at Brook Farm," *Atlantic*, 85 (March, 1900):399.

52 Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Complete Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York: Wm. H. Wise and Company, 1929), p. 1057.

53 Sears, *My Friends at Brook Farm*, p. 74.

54 Swift, *Brook Farm*, p. 70.

55 Charles Lane, "Brook Farm," *The Dial* 4(January, 1844):353.

56 George Ripley, "Review of Biber's 'Henry Pestalozzi and His Plan of Education,'" *Christian Examiner* 11(January, 1832):351-356.

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Ibid.*

59 Cooke, *Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight*, p. 3.

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

62 *Ibid.*

63 Georgiann Bruce, "Reminiscences of Brook Farm," *Old and New*.

64 *Ibid.*

65 Georgiana Bruce Kirby, *Years of Experience* (New York: Putnam, 1887), p. 98.

66 Ibid.

66 *Ibid.*

67 Sears, *My Friends at Brook Farm*, p. 125.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

69 *Ibid.*

70 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

72 Swift, *Brook Farm*, p. 73.

73 Sears, *My Friends at Brook Farm*, p. 121.

74 R. Freeman Butts and L. A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 168.

75 Sears, *My Friends at Brook Farm*.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

58

78 Mitchell, "The Brook Farm Movement Viewed through the Perspective of Half a Century," *Catholic World*, p. 22.

79 Curtis, *A Season in Utopia*, p. 89.

80 *Ibid.*

81 Frothingham, *George Ripley*, p. 129.

82 Marianne Dwight, *Letters from Brook Farm*, Amy L. Reed, Ed. (New York: Vassar College, 1928), p. 169.

83 David Zeldin, *The Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier* (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1969), p. 51.

84 Emerson, *The Complete Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, p. 1056.

A STUDY OF FOUR NORTHERN EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT PEOPLE AND THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS

SOME CURRENT OBSERVATIONS

Frank C. Nelsen
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

This paper is in two parts. The first part is a historical case study of four Northern European ethnic peoples who emigrated to the United States in the 19th Century and their views on assimilation. The immigrants never had a precise word for this process and simply referred to it as "becoming an American" or "acting like an American." Writers on this process have generally referred to it as "Americanization."[1] In the second part of the paper, what I have attempted to do is to theorize on a rather simple yet complex question. "Why is it that some immigrant peoples have 'made it' in American society, and therefore have been able to enjoy certain economic and social benefits to a much greater degree than have other immigrants?" It is my hope that this paper may shed some light on this question.

The four immigrant people I have chosen to look at are: the Germans, Dutch, Swedes, and Norwegians. Some perspective on the numbers of these people who came to America during the 19th century might be helpful. Fortunately, the Federal government began keeping statistics in 1820 on immigrants who came through the port of New York. Although the statistics in the early years may not be as accurate as we would like, they nevertheless give a good indication of how many people did emigrate to America. The following figures are for a 130 year period from 1820 to 1950.[2] Germany had 6,248,529 and ranked first; Sweden had a total of 1,228,113 and ranked 8th; the Netherlands had 268,619 and ranked 20th; Norway had 814,955 and ranked 10th. The peak year of emigration for all four of these ethnic peoples were different yet they all had one common denominator and that was what the Norwegians called the "America fever" in these four countries in 1881 and 1882. To emigrate was the thing to do.

There is extensive literature on the dominant American view of the immigrant and the whole question of immigration. The American's attitude on the whole can be summed up in the Emma Lazarus' sonnet inscribed on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty. This sonnet expressed the attitude of most native Americans, and by native American I mean the old English stock who did indeed believe that immigrants were "the wretched refuse." There is regretfully much historical evidence that this was the attitude of most Americans who never wanted the immigrant to come to America but who needed a source of cheap labor for the development of a new nation.

In recent years it has become fashionable for writers on ethnicity to give the impression that most if not all the immigrants were opposed to "assimilation." The historical evidence would seem to indicate that immigrants shared a wide divergence of opinion on this issue. It varied with the era in which the immigrant came to this country and also whether or not he was religious or more secular in his thinking. I shall attempt to document this variety of opinion from the historical data.

There have been many who have written on assimilation, such writers as J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur's 1782 volume, *Letters From an American Farmer*, through Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis of 1893 concerning the fusion of immigrants in the crucible of the Western frontier into a composite American people to Israel Zangwill's play *The Melting Pot* in 1909. Some others who have written on the need for assimilation are, Calvin Stow, Richmond Mayo-Smith and Percy Stickney Grant. It was Horace M. Kallen who took exception to the assumptions of the assimilationists. In 1915 a series of articles appeared in the *Nation*. Kallen advanced the idea that American society ought not be one culture brought about by assimilation but rather a "federation of cultures."[3] In more recent times Kenneth Boulding has kept the idea of Kallen alive. Boulding has written, "Stressing the 'melting pot' idea, American society has sought to create through public education a uniform culture. With increased affluence and increased political skill, this ideal can now be called into question. Can we now invent a 'mosaic' society, composed of many small subcultures, each of which gives to its participants a sense of community and identity so desperately needed in a mass world, and which can at the same time remain at peace with its neighbors and not threaten to pull the society apart?"[4] Although Boulding wrote this just a few years ago his ideas are not new; they are but a rephrasing of the old arguments of those who followed Kallen in the notion of America as a "cultural pluralism" or to use Boulding's term a "mosaic."

Cultural pluralism as a sociological theory is of rather recent development. This, of course, is to say nothing about the validity of the theory. I should like at this time to look at the four ethnic groups and their views on assimilation or Americanization.

The Germans

What I hope to document in this paper is that individuals in the four ethnic groups I studied had different views on assimilation. Let me begin with a consideration of the German-Americans, the largest immigrant people to come to America. There were three major types of Germans who emigrated in the 19th century: (1) the "Forty-eighters." These were the refugees from the abortive liberal revolutions of 1848 and 1849, (2) Roman Catholics, (3) Lutheran Germans. All of these groups supported *das Deutschtum*, or German culture, and they did so for a good many years. Each of them had their own particular interpretation of the German culture and motives for maintaining it.

Almost without exception the immigrants believed German culture was far superior to that of American culture. The Forty-eighters, in particular, looked upon their heritage as being enriched by hundreds of years of intellectual achievements. A culture that produced a Goethe, Schiller, and Hegel could not be compared with the youthful, and immature American society. They were quite certain as John A. Hawgood states that "German ways and culture....would in any case find acceptance in America because of their marked superiority over all others."[5]

The process of "Americanization" or what we call today assimilation was a process the German immigrants recognized and feared. Many Germans agreed that isolation was the key to a thwarting of the assimilation process. Looking back one must admit that the Germans were of the more successful ethnic peoples from Northern Europe in avoiding for a long time "Americanization." The Germans, however, were to find that the price of being a hyphenated "German-American" was high. They faced repeated attacks from the nativists who did not like the German's desire to maintain German age-old customs and folkways in the United States. Yet many of the German immigrants insisted on separation which would make possible the creation of "German communities as islands in a sea of Americanism."[6]

For their struggle against assimilation the Germans had an arsenal of weapons. Their habit of settling in isolated settlements in both urban and rural areas was one of these. Another weapon was the German language. The use of the German language inhibited social interaction between the Germans and the Americans and between Germans and other ethnic groups for that matter. For a long time the use of the German language as cultural isolator was remarkably successful.

The religious German immigrants both Roman Catholic and Lutheran agreed that "loss of language meant loss of faith and traditions...the Germans did not claim that German was the language of his faith, but it was the best means of keeping faith."[7] Religious leaders sincerely believed that as long as the German immigrant knew no English he would remain a faithful Roman Catholic or Lutheran because "language saves faith."

It would not be until the United States entered the war against Germany in 1917 that the solidarity of the German settlements would be disrupted and the erosion of German culture in America would begin. However, this is not to say that there was not a vocal minority for assimilation which was heard in the German communities all during the 19th century. The most outstanding spokesman for assimilation was Carl Schurz who emigrated to the United States from Germany in 1852. Schurz was greatly respected in both the German-American and American society and was truly "bicultural." He served as a brigadier general in the Union Army and as a United States Senator from Missouri. In addition to this he was also the owner and editor of the St. Louis Westliche Post, a German daily.[8]

Carl Schurz and his fellow Forty-eighters saw perhaps more clearly than did other German groups that "Americanization" of the German-American would eventually come. They also saw the contributions German could make to American society. The Forty-eighters' support of the American Common School in contrast to the opposition of both the Roman Catholic and Missouri Synod Lutherans made assimilation into American society somewhat easier for the than for other German groups. Of the four groups studied it was most difficult for the Germans to give up the utopian dream of building "German communities as islands in a sea of Americanism."[9] But they did give up the dream and have been assimilated into American society. Even in a city like Milwaukee, one hears German only occasionally. A local German radio station mixes German polkas with country and western music and alternates the German and English languages.

The Dutch

The Dutch emigrated in the 19th century to America primarily for economic reasons. Many Hollanders found economic conditions in the Netherlands at this time intolerable. For the religious Hollanders however it was compounded by the attitude of the Dutch government toward those who opposed the prevailing theological views of the Dutch Reformed Church. Many of the Dutch who emigrated to America were the so-called "Seceders." These people took issue with the rationalistic clergy of the State Church. The Orthodox Reformed were subject to much oppressive legislation in the early 19th century. The legislation was passed to compel the Seceders to comply with the accepted religious practice of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Seceders, pietistic and orthodox as they were, viewed the State Church as having forsaken the standards of Reformed Theology, the Belgic and Heidelberg Confessions, and the Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht.

The 19th century Dutch arrived and settled in the area of the present city of Holland, Michigan, in February of 1848. They also were to settle a few years later in large numbers in various places in Iowa. The Dutch who emigrated prior to the Civil War had little inclination to remain Dutch. This low commitment to maintain Dutch customs was commented on by several observers. One traveler, the Reverend F. W. H. Hugenholtze, wrote, "One of my first and saddest discoveries in the New World is that there are Netherlanders, people who speak as if they no longer understand Dutch and regard it as a kind of disgrace to speak it."[10]

After the Civil War, however, the attitude of the Dutch toward rapid assimilation was to change. One of the reasons for this change of attitude was increased emigration and the emotional appeal of the Boer War. Toward the end of the 19th century the conservative minded Dutch, particularly the clergy, were beginning to fear assimilation. One way to preserve their religion, the clergy believed, was to use the Dutch language. They had little, if any desire to preserve Dutch culture--what concerned them was maintaining the Reformed faith.

The Dutch clergy were the most anxious to have the Dutch language and religion taught in the American common school. One clergyman wrote in 1880, "It is unfortunate that there are no more such schools in which our youth may be instructed in our mother tongue, which is indispensable for living among Dutch people, and that Dutch parents do not take a greater interest in such instruction."[11] In some schools, English was the language of instruction during the regular school year and the Dutch language was used exclusively in the summer months. These schools, along with other ethnic groups who established schools, had great difficulty getting bilingual teachers capable of teaching equally well in both the Dutch and English language. The Dutch had more control of the district schools than did most other immigrants. The reason for this was because they concentrated in such large numbers in rural areas away from the Yankees. In spite of almost total control of the American common school the Christian Reformed Church decided to establish their own "Christian" schools. There is some evidence to support the view that the main function of these schools was to perpetuate and preserve the Dutch language. The individuals most zealous in preserving the Dutch language were also the most zealous supporters of the Christian schools.[12]

Some of the Dutch immigrants attacked the common school for teaching what they called, "mere ethical ideals."[13] This they held, promoted a humanistic, non-theistic philosophy of life. Still later a specific criticism was that the public schools taught Darwinism which was contrary to the Genesis account of creation.

Not all Hollanders, however, agreed that the American public school was as objectionable as the conservatives among the Dutch contended. For example, in 1895 the mayor of Holland, Michigan, G. J. Diekema spoke to a large gathering on the subject of the Christian school movement of the Christian Reformed Chruch was un-American in spirit. Mayor Diekema said, "the American flag flies over the public school. In the public school the child learns patriotism. The child does not remain German, Dutch, or Italian. They become American."[14] The Reverend Henrick Peter Scholte, an outstanding Dutch-American theologian, newspaper editor and civic leader, believed in assimilation, but reminded Dutch immigrants not to forget their origins. It think it is a safe assumption that there were many others in the Dutch communities who felt much the same way about Americanization as did these two Dutch-American leaders.

The Swedes

The Swedes who emigrated to America in the early 1830's and 1840's had little interest in maintaining their culture. Most of them emigrated at a time, as one writer said, Swedes "value things foreign and criticize everything Swedish."[15] The more liberal minded Swedes had fresh memories of the harsh conditions which caused him to emigrate and sought to become assimilated into American society as soon as possible. More than one Swede when arriving in the United States changed his name to Smith, Jones or Brown and passed into American society. In

the early decades of Swedish immigration many Swedes believed that it was in their best interest to assimilate as rapidly as possible. Historians of immigration generally agree that no other foreign speaking immigrant people became Americanized, as quickly as did the Swedes, during this period.

The Yankee, or old stock American, was amazed at the Swedes' ability to speak a form of English. The more liberal Swede had not been in America long before he changed the name of his homeland from "Svirige" to "Sveden," and began to mix generous amounts of Swedish with a newly learned English. An amusing practice of some Swedish immigrants in this period prior to the Civil War was their claim that after a few months in America they had forgotten how to speak and write the Swedish language. In Sweden some postal authorities could not deliver letters in the immigrant's so-called English. The postmaster of Kristdala, for example, found it necessary to write to the Swedish American newspaper Hamlandent in America and ask the editor to advise his readers to use the Swedish language in addressing letters to people in Sweden. Critics of the American school have charged it with destroying immigrant culture. However, these Swedes who emigrated before the Civil War apparently had made their decision to assimilate before they left Sweden.

The attitude of rapid assimilation on the part of so many Swedish immigrants changed quickly after the Civil War. Prior to the War the leaders of the Swedish-American community felt that the use of Swedish was a temporary phase which would not last beyond the life span of the original immigrants. However, with the heavy immigration which came after the Civil War the thinking of the many Swedes changed. This change of attitude had some relationship to improved economic and social conditions in Sweden. At this time many Swedes came to believe that with increased numbers the language and cultural distinctiveness should and could be maintained. This was particularly true of the religious Swede. One of the Lutheran pastors warned the Swedish-Americans that, "If we are going to maintain our identity we must above all preserve our language."[16] The language question was to become the subject of much heated debate in the Swedish language press. The conservative minded clergy, who were for the most part, revivalistic and pietistic, played a major role in stressing the value of retaining the Swedish language. The principle function of the language was to "save faith." Then too, there was the emotional aspect; Swedish was the language of "the home, the heart, and prayer." It was almost inconceivable to the Swede that a church service could be enjoyed in any language but Swedish. A joke among the Swedes was that people had better learn Swedish because it "was the language of heaven."

The clergy also feared that the Swedish immigrant, if allowed to learn English, might find the American churches attractive. Many Swedes were lost to the more emotional Methodists or Baptists. Many of the American churches "regarded the Swedish immigrants as semi-Catholics and therefore felt that they could proselyte with good conscience."[17] The clergy reasoned that cultural isolation in Swedish settlements using

the Swedish language would prevent, or at least hinder, this from taking place, thus preventing American churches and sects from making inroads among the Swedish-American immigrants. Furthermore, the clergy believed that the American common school promoted a too rapid Americanization thus creating a cultural gap between Swedish parents and their children who attended the American common school. The conservative Swede felt that the American school teacher failed to take into consideration the background of the Swedish child and some parents objected to teachers who stressed that the United States was the greatest nation on earth.[18] Although many Americans were critical of immigrants, they did not single out the Swedes for their most hostile attacks. There were, nevertheless, expressions of prejudice against Swedes. Immigrant Swedes were called "dumb," "squarehead" and considered an ignorant "greenhorn" by the Yankees.

Swedes were being so rapidly Americanized in the latter part of the 19th century that the clergy of the Lutheran church responded by establishing parochial schools. In this they were not too successful and not many parish schools were established. The pattern for these "Swede" schools, as they were called, was of a school held in a church basement during the summer months when the American common school was not in session. As might be expected most Swedish boys and girls would rather play during summer vacation rather than attend the "Swede" school. Many children dreaded the coming of the "student" from Augustana or Gustavus Adolphus College to conduct parochial summer school.

The curriculum of these schools included catechism, Bible history, and reading in the Swedish language. The purpose of these schools was not only to teach religion but to teach the Swedish language to immigrant boys and girls who were rapidly becoming Americanized. This attitude of stressing Swedish and teaching the children of immigrant parents the Swedish language was quite different from the period before the Civil War when it was fashionable to become an "American" as quickly as possible.

In spite of the strong support of the Lutheran clergy for a parochial system of schools, it was not realized, and those that were established did not last long. The reason for not establishing schools was because the Swedish-American was never convinced that the American common school was as "godless" and "religionless" as their pastors made them out to be. Most Swedish immigrants believed that if their Lutheran faith had any validity to it at all it could win the hearts of Swedish youth without prohibiting them from getting an education in the American public school. Informed Swedish-Americans believed that because America did not have an established church as in Sweden the secular common school presented no real problem. They held that the school was an institution where the children of immigrants could learn American culture and the English language without abrogating their Swedish heritage.

As the 19th century came to a close it became increasingly clear that

the Swedish immigrant was unwilling to appropriate the large sums of money necessary to support parochial schools quite in contrast to what the German Missouri Synod Lutherans had done. It was not that the immigrant Swedes could not afford to do so financially he could do perhaps somewhat better than most other ethnic groups, but he lacked the will to do so. The Swedish-American was never fully convinced that a Swedish parochial school system would benefit his children. Swedish-Americans have done rather well in all areas of American life, and part of the reason for their success is because they chose assimilation rather than separation from American society.

The Norwegians

As with the Germans, Dutch, and Swedes, the Norwegians who emigrated before the Civil War had a different view than did those who came after the War. We must conclude that the Civil War was an important factor in American immigrant history. The attitude of the Norwegian immigrants before the Civil War was quite different from what it was to be in the second half of the 19th century. Norwegian immigrants from the district of Voss who emigrated before the Civil War founded a correspondence society with the purpose of encouraging emigration to America. In one of their communications they wrote, "We recall with gladness the day we left the chill cliffs of Norway and praise the Lord whose wisdom guided us so that our lot has been to dwell in a land where liberty and freedom prevail, for here we can enjoy all the privileges to which men are rightfully entitled."[19] Hans Barlien, a political and religious liberal, saw America as a land of freedom of religion, "At last I can breathe freely. No one is here persecuted on account of his religious beliefs, anyone is permitted to worship God in his own way, as his conscience dictates." Barlien goes on to say that America was virtually free from crime. "Pickpockets, lawyers, unscrupulous creditors, a corrupt government, and vagabonds have lost all power to harm people."[20] Admittedly Barlien overstated the social conditions in America – 19th century America was no utopia. Yet one can understand a Barlien who was almost overwhelmed with the political and religious freedom people had in this country when compared with Norway of that time.

Not all of the Norwegian–American immigrants found America without fault. For example, some criticized the severity of the American Sabbath. Norwegians, as all Europeans, for that matter, believed that Sunday was a day for both worship and recreation. Numerous Norwegians criticized the Yankees for their shrewd business dealings which the immigrants considered a form of cheating. Still fresh in the minds of more than one immigrant was the memory of the American who used Norwegian immigrants as front men, took advantage of him when he was "green" and trusting on his arrival in the United States.

How did the native American view the Norwegians? The truth is that

the native American disliked all foreigners and this included the Norwegians. The old stock American welcomed the immigrant as a source of cheap labor needed to develop a new nation, yet they disapproved of the immigrants ignorance, strange language, religion, and customs. The Yankees on occasions called the Norsemen "Norwegian Indians" and consigned them to a social status below that of the Negro slave. One of the reasons for the Norwegians low status in some areas was because when they first arrived in an area and before they could build homes they would dig into the side of a hill and make a cave temporary home.[21] In addition to living in caves one writer said they had no knowledge of the English language and knew nothing about American institutions. A man with the Yankee name of Marshall M. Strong declared that Negroes, "were deserving of the vote and the privilege of free men as were many of the whites, and more so as a class in this territory (Wisconsin) than the Norwegians."[22]

The 19th century was the time of the American school movement, and the Norwegian-American immigrants, as might be expected, expressed their opinions about this American institution. The controversy over the American common school was one of the most debated issues in the Norwegian immigrant settlements and press. The clergyman, Olaus Fredrick Duus, expressed his dislike for the American school. He wrote on one occasion to relatives in Norway, "I have talked with teachers in these common schools, which are supported by public funds, fairly well educated men, who have never been baptized and who had to admit to me that they did not know the Lord's Prayer."[23]

In addition to the Reverend Duus there were others who disapproved of the common school, particularly the pastors of the Norwegian-Evangelical Lutheran Synod.[24] At the Synod's meeting at Manitowoc, Wisconsin in 1866 the American school was debated and finally labeled as "heathen" and "religionless."[25] The Synod was called on to build its own religious schools so that it would not be necessary for the Norwegian-American immigrants to send their children to the American public school.[26]

The controversy over the American common school continued for many years, and it was one of the issues over which Norwegian-Americans were sharply divided. Some of them believed that the Norwegian immigrant must be isolated so that religion and faith could be preserved. One of the outstanding laymen in the old Norwegian Synod was John A. Johnson of Madison, Wisconsin. Johnson strongly opposed the plan of the Synod to build its own schools, and believed that the solution to the school question was not to undermine the American common school.

The Norwegian-American in spite of the opposition of the conservative Lutheran clergy was to prefer assimilation rather than isolation. These ethnics never found it necessary to separate from American society. There are a number of reasons why this was the case, some of which were the Norwegian-American's Protestant religion, his loyalty to the political party in power after the Civil War, and his efforts to speak

English even though it was mixed with a generous amount of Norwegian. In addition there was the Norwegian's love of freedom which had a long history in the valleys of Norway. Thus the Norwegian-American's willingness to accept American social attitudes made assimilation easier than for some other ethnic people.

Paul Hjelm-Hansen was a Norwegian journalist who spent several years in the United States and after visiting the Red River Valley in Minnesota wrote of this rich farm land and influenced scores of Norwegians to emigrate to this farming region. In a speech given before he left for Norway in 1869, Hjelm-Hansen gave some advice which consciously or unconsciously the Norwegians came to follow. "I do not wish" said Hjelm-Hansen, "that the Scandinavians should form a power all to themselves or to be a state within a state. No, that is not my desire. My reading of history has been sufficient to convince me that attempts of that nature are doomed to failure. On the contrary, I believe that it is the sacred duty of the immigrants who have taken the oath of allegiance to this society to become united and assimilated with the native population of the country, the Americans, to learn the English language, and to familiarize themselves with and uphold the spirit and institutions of the Republic. The sooner this comes about, the better."[28] The subsequent history of Norwegians in the United States would indicate that they followed Hjelm-Hansen's advice. It was in their best interest to be assimilated rather than isolated and thus fully participate in American society. Yet Norwegians have never felt that to be a good American it was necessary to forsake Norway completely or to lack an appreciation of Norwegian culture. There is today in the children of the pioneer Norwegian immigrants an appreciation for Norway and "things Norwegian" although it is increasingly becoming less meaningful for the younger generation who have become almost totally assimilated.

In the second part of this part of the paper I would like to make some generalizations based on the historical data of these four Northern European immigrant peoples. The data would seem to indicate the following:

1. The immigrants who came to America prior to the Civil War (with the possible exception of the Germans) tended to believe that there would be a rapid assimilation into American society.

2. With the tremendous increase in immigration following the Civil War the attitude of many of these immigrants changed. During this period an increasing number of immigrants wanted to slow the assimilation process. They knew that assimilation would eventually come but they did not want to do anything to speed the process. They felt that time was needed for the immigrant, as they said, "to come to know the ways of the Americans."

3. Third generation immigrants and late arrival immigrants (those who arrived in the early 1930's as my family did) had no desire to

perpetuate the culture of the homeland. The notion of a kind of "cultural pluralism" or isolation was never discussed.

Thus, contrary to what some people are currently saying about the melting pot it did work for Northern European immigrants. The ethnics did not melt at a unified rate. For some the process was comparatively rapid, for others it took much longer. But it makes little sense to say that these groups have not been almost totally assimilated. Israel Zangwill was right when he had one of the characters in his play say, "America is God's crucible, the great melting pot where all the races of Europe are melted and reformed."[29] Dwight MacDonald has put it this way, "For indeed these were the poor and tempest-tossed, the bottom dogs of Europe, and for just this reason they were all too eager to give up their old-world languages and customs, which they regarded as marks of inferiority uprooted from their traditions, offered the dirtiest jobs at the lowest pay, the masses from Europe were made to feel that their only hope of rising was to become "Americanized," which meant being assimilated at the lowest cultural as well as economic level."[30]

It is popular today to question the concept of the melting pot. There is almost nothing being written in favor of it. Baynard Ruskin, a Black leader, is one of these. Ruskin has said, "We are lied to; there never was a melting pot, there is not now a melting pot, there will never be a melting pot — and if there were, it would be such a tasteless soup that we would have to go back and start all over."[31] In categorical terms people like Ruskin deny the existence of the melting pot. I have come to believe over the years, since I started looking at immigrant history that the denial of the melting pot or of assimilation is to take a historical position. If one had the time and strength to read Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History* one would find that civilizations and peoples have for millenia merged and blended, combined and assimilated. It has been possible for people at times to thwart and slow the process, but eventually assimilation and amalgamation comes to all people, to all civilizations. To deny eventual assimilation is to deny the force of historical process as we have come to understand it.

A question which has interested me for some time now is a rather simple one, but one which, I think, needs some consideration and further research. Why is it that some ethnic groups have "made it" in the United States and some have not? My criterion for "making it" is a simple one. Making it is to have made significant economic and social progress. I would argue that although making a good income does not necessarily give you social recognition, it certainly is not a deterent to social mobility to have a decent income.

The four Northern European groups I studied have all "made it" in America using this criteria. It would be my guess that in areas where these people have settled, comparatively few of these people are receiving welfare or other forms of public assistance. When we find this sort of social phenomena we ought to ask the question as to why this is the case. It is my hypothesis that they have been successful because of the following reasons: (1) These people are basically "puritan," and (2)

their value systems are congruent with the basic Anglo-Saxon value system of the old stock English who settled this country. You may recall it was Max Weber who said that the religious doctrine taught by the Protestant Reformers had significant economic implications. Weber contended that it was the "Protestant ethic" which emphasized work as a divine calling, the doctrine of predestination and election, self-denial, particularly in enjoyment of leisure, and economic frugality which produced the capitol necessary for the industrial revolution.[32] Ernst Troeltschi has pointed out that "when all is said and done, Calvinism remains the real nursing-father of the civic, industrial capitolism of the middle class."[33]

Well, I think the disciples of Weber have attempted to take some limited insights too literally, but nevertheless Weber's analysis is helpful in understanding the dynamic quality of the nations that were greatly influenced by the Protestant Reformation. Now a question that interests me is, "Can we take Weber's analysis and extend it further than just the nations influenced by the 'Protestant Reformation,' to people who have behaved in puritan ways?" Ruth Benedict divides cultures into "Dionysian" and "Apollonian." You might recall Dionysus was the Greek god of wine. He was also sensuous, frenzied, and irrational. On the other hand Apollo was the god of harmony and possessed an ordered and balanced character. In writing about the Indians of North America Ruth Benedict writes, "The basic contrast between the Pueblocs and the other cultures of North America is the contrast that is named and described by Nietzsche in his studies of Greek tragedy. He discusses two diametrically opposed ways of arriving at the values of existence. The Dionysian pursues them through 'the annihilation of the ordinary bounds and limits of existence'; he seeks to attain in his most valued moments escape from the boundaries imposed upon him by his five senses, to break through into another order of experience. The desire of the Dionysian, in personal experience or ritual, is to press through it toward a certain psychological state, to achieve excess. The closest analogy to the emotions he seeks is drunkenness, and he values the illuminations of frenzy. With Blake, he believes 'the path of excess leads to the palace of wisdom.' The Apollonian distrusts all this, and has often little idea of the nature of such experiences. He finds means to outlaw them from his conscious life. He 'knows but one law, measure in the Hellenic sense.' He keeps the middle of the road, stays within the known map, does not meddle with disruptive psychological states. In Nietzache's fine phrase, even in the exaltation of the dance he 'remains what he is, and retains his civic name.'"[34] Thus using Benedict's models I would say that the four European immigrant groups I studied were very much in the "Apollonian" tradition. These people have viewed the world not as "chaos" but as "kosmos." How a people perceive the world has a great deal to do with how they interact with that world. I think the reason why the Japanese are such a successful people today economically is because they view the world as "kosmos" and are both "puritan" and "apollonian." Why is this so? It has a lot to do with the basic value system of the Japanese. The type of Zen Buddhism that was brought from China to Japan in the 12th century was Apollonian in character;

thus we see the Apollonian flower arrangement, and the tea ceremony. Bart McDowell quotes an American-Japanese friend who when asked why the Japanese were so successful in business replied, "you must start with Zen Buddhism. The values of Zen-diligence, self-denial, loyalty-shaped the knightly samurai character. These qualities make Japanese workers productive." As one Zen Buddhist priest told McDowell, Kendo (fencing with staves) is Zen. The tea ceremony is Zen. Pursuing and devoting yourself to your work – that is Zen."[35] Thus, I suggest to you that any culture or people who are "puritan" or "apollonian" and view the world as "kosmos" will be economically successful.

Now let me return for a moment to the question of why some immigrant peoples have "made it" in America while others have not. I make no claim to a sophisticated sociological theory. Perhaps it might be helpful to clarify the point in such a way that we might come to confront the issue. The four ethnic people from Northern Europe that I examined in the first part of this paper had a value system which was essentially "puritan." The people of the host nation to which they emigrated was of the Old Stock English and were Puritan. American historians have liked to point out that the colonies of New England were "puritan" while the Southern colonies were "cavalier." There is, of course, some truth to this distinction. However, there really was not that much difference between Englishmen who colonized the Eastern seaboard. You do not colonize a wilderness without hard work and a large measure of discipline, and, until the slaves were brought to the Southern colonies, the Englishmen worked as hard as they did in New England. When the early immigrants arrived in the early 19th century they encountered this English "puritan" value system. At first the immigrants saw in American society more difference than similarities. But many immigrants who saw many differences as a youth admitted in old age that there really was not that much difference between his values and those who held the reins of power in the United States. The immigrants I studied viewed America as a land of opportunity. It is true there were some who became disenchanted with America and returned to their homeland, but most of them stayed. It is my thesis that these immigrants were economically and socially mobile because their values were congruent with the basic value structure of the dominant American society. The immigrant who had ambition, worked hard, saved his money, stayed out of debt and was religious could make it. He could get ahead because these were the values of puritanism and the concomitant "gospel of wealth." It would seem to me that for the immigrant, Zangwill's description of America as a melting pot was social reality. It is also social reality that the American had a preferred set of values as ingredients in the pot. If the values of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant and the values of the immigrants came to match these ingredients, the better were their chances for success in this country.

May I go a bit further and suggest that if American Indians, Latins, and other minorities have not "made it" socially or economically it is because their value structure and belief system does not match the

combined and preferred set of values of both the Anglo-Saxon and the immigrants who hold the same basic values. The American Indian and Mexican-Americans are today's true "cultural pluralists." The tragedy, as I see it, is that these minority peoples are caught in a basic value conflict. Because their value system is not like the host nation, they are, therefore, doomed to alienation or forced to surrender their values in order to "make it" in this society. I do not think one can talk about cultural pluralism without dealing with the economics of it. It is a serious thing to encourage people to develop enclaves of ethnicity or cultural pluralism and thus to doom them to economic and social oblivion. I might add that some well meaning programs for minorities in universities and colleges reinforce this inability to "make it" economically.

In the concluding part of the paper I would like to say something about what we call today "ethnicity." Language does indeed change. When I was a young immigrant I was called a "foreigner." Today we speak of a person as an "ethnic." Ethnics did not do much and had little solidarity until Black people began to make demands and got many of their legitimate rights in the 1950's and 1960's. With the emergence of Black rights and power came an awareness of the origins of many ethnics. It is my contention that much ethnic awareness is a reaction to the militancy and gains made by Black people and is, therefore, not a social movement untouched by racism. I think we have witnessed in the last few years what has become a "cult of ethnicity" with a rash of buttons and bumper stickers calling for "Polish," "Viking," "Irish" and other ethnic power. T-shirts have printed on them, "Kiss Me, I'm Italian." I am told that third and fourth generation Italians drive in from Long Island on the weekend to Little Italy in New York City to get their weekly supply of Italian bread, snails, live eels and Italian wine. Nicholas Pileggi maintains that "It is only with a trunk filled with Italian market produce that a Saturday Italian can face six days in the suburbs." The Norwegians, a people I know something about, gather at the Sons of Norway Lodge at Christmas time to eat "lutefisk", a dried codfish soaked in, of all things, lye of potash. They eat this fish with boiled potatoes and melted butter. What they do not seem to know is that this food, which they value so much, is equivalent to Black people's soul food. As with blacks in this country, only the very poor eat this food in Norway. In late September the United German Societies at the Bavarian Inn in Milwaukee celebrate "Oktoberfest" with dancing, singing and beer drinking. One would expect and hope the Bavarian Inn to be one place where the German culture would be maintained. Regretfully, this is not the case. The Scandinavians have had some influence as the Bavarian Inn advertises as serving "family style smorgasbord Sunday – Bavarian dinner Friday and Saturday." Last March 17th, St. Patrick's Day, people were wearing "the green." A salesman, who claimed to be Irish, told me he did not know much about Ireland but that St. Patrick's Day was a good excuse for consuming large amounts of green beer!

Lest I should sound too critical about these displays of "ethnicity" let me say that I find nothing wrong with liking "pizza," "tacos" or

"lutefisk" or for that matter any other ethnic dish. What I do find fault with in the "new ethnicity" is that people are confusing the accouterments or trappings of a culture for a knowledge of the culture. The form is there but the essence has gone. The truth is that most people who claim the new ethnicity know very little of the political, social and culture of the nation of their origin. They no longer know the language, nor is there a serious attempt made to learn it. When these "ethnics" visit the country of origin they soon find that they cannot really identify with it, and are soon beginning to look for McDonald's hamburgers, Kentucky Fried Chicken, or some other American to talk to. As with those who visit New York City, they find their nation of origin a nice place to visit but they would not want to live there. All it really takes to convince "weekend" ethnics that they have indeed been melted and assimilated is a three week visit to Europe. I found this out for myself in two summers in Norway. Although I was born there and spoke the language with some fluency, I came to know culturally that I was an American, not a Norwegian. I still appreciate my Norwegian heritage, but the melting pot, for better or for worse, had done its work. Assimilation is social reality.

NOTES

1 George Eaton Simpson defines "assimilation" as "a process in which persons of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds come to interact, free of these constraints, in the life of the larger community" in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Science*, Vol. 1, (New York: MacMillan Co., 1968). James W. Vander Zanden differentiates between "unilateral assimilation, i.e. giving up one's culture to accept another, and "reciprocal fusion". This is when a third culture is formed by the blending of two or more cultures. See Vander Zanden's book, *American Minority Relations: The Sociology of Race and Ethnic Groups* (New York: Ronald Press, 1968) p. 269.

2 Oscar Handlin, (ed.) *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959), p. 16.

3 Horace M. Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting-Pot," *The Nation* (1915).

4 Kenneth E. Boulding, "Expecting the Unexpected: The Uncertain Future of Knowledge and Technology," *Designing Education for the Future*, Vol. 1, Edgar L. Morphet and Charles O. Ryan, (ed.), (New York, Citation Press, 1967), p. 212.

5 John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1940). Hawgood sees the tragedy of the German-Americans as that of refusing for a long time to be assimilated into American society. Although Hawgood's book appeared over thirty years ago it is still the definitive study of this aspect of German-American history.

6 Hawgood, p. 14.

7 Hawgood, p. 289.

8 See C. V. Easum, *The Americanization of Carl Schurz* (1929); and also the biographies by Joseph Schafer (1930) and C. M. Fuess (1932).

9 Hawgood, p. 14.

10 *Stemmen uit de Vrije Hollandsche Gemeente to Grand Rapids, Michigan, Jaargang*. (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1887), p. 33.

11 *De Grondwet*, November 18, 1880.

12 John Kromminga, *The Christian Reformed Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1949), p. 64.

13 Kromminga, p. 140.

14 Kromminga, p. 139.

15 George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932), p. 406.

16 Stephenson, p. 424.

17 Stephenson, p. 196.

18 Stephenson, p. 425.

19 From the Voss Correspondence Society of Chicago to Friends in the Fatherland, May 1, 1849. Found in Theodore C. Blegen, (ed.), *Land of Their Choice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), p. 203.

20 D. G. Rustad, "A Doctrinaire Idealist: Hans Barlien," *Norwegian-American Studies*, Vol. III, (Northfield, Minnesota: N.A.H.A., 1928), p. 17.

21 One of these caves used by the early Norwegian immigrants in Wisconsin can be seen in "Little Norway" in Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin.

22 Bayrd Still, "Norwegian-Americans and Wisconsin Politics in the Forties," *Norwegian American Studies*, Vol. 111, (Northfield, Minnesota: N.A.H.A., 1947), p. 95.

23 See Clifford E. Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, *The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian Americans*, Vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Augsberg Publishing House, 1960). For a complete treatment of the Old Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America see Lee G. Belgum, "The Old Norwegian Synod in America, 1853-1890," (Unpublished dissertation: Yale, 1957).

24 *Synodalberetning*, Manitowoc, Wisconsin, June 2-28, 1866 (Northfield, Minnesota, in Norwegian American Historical Association Archives) pp. 3-32.

25 John A. Johnson, "The School Issue," *Skandinaven*, November 22, 1866. Another outstanding and articulate Norwegian-American was Rasmus Bjrn Anderson also from Madison. For a biography of Anderson see Lloyd Hustvedt, *Rasmus Bjrn Anderson: Pioneer Scholar* (Northfield, Minnesota: N.A.H.A., 1966).

26 From a farewell speech of Paul Hjelm-Hansen at Alexander, Minnesota, September 4, 1869. This speech was first published in *Nordisk Folkeblad*, SEptember 22, 1869. However, not all Norwegian-Americans believed in assimilation as did Hjelm-Hansen. One of these was Waldemar Ager of LaCrosse, Wisconsin long time Norwegian-American newspaper editor. On one occasion Ager wrote about the Melting Pot, "out of the melting pot there is supposed to come a new man, a super citizen, a superman with all the best features from the various races and none of the bad ones. But the so-called American does not himself wish to be assimilated with the foreigners, he does not wish either to assimilate or take up, in himself the Russian, the Pole, or the Jew, but he wants them to be absorbed in each other." From Waldemar Ager, "Smeltedigelen," in *Kristeligt* 12:32-42 (April, 1916), as cited in Einar Haugen, "The Struggle over Norwegian," *Studies and Records*, Vol XVII, (Northfield, Minnesota: N.A.H.A., 1952) p. 23.

27 Israel Zangwill, *The Melting Pot* (New York, 1909).

28 Dwight MacDonald, *Against the American Grain: Essays on the Effects of Mass Culture* (New York: Vintage Press, 1962) p. 35.

29 Jules Loh, "Maybe America Isn't Ethnic 'Melting Pot' After All," *Milwaukee Journal*, August 26, 1973.

30 See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

31 Ernst Troltschi, *Protestantism and Progress* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), pp. 135-146.

32 Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. Sentry Edition, 1959), p. 78-79.

33 Bart McDowell, "Those Successful Japanese," *National Geographic*, March, 1974.

34 Jules Loh, *Milwaukee Journal*, August 26, 1973.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION TODAY

Dr. Carl H. Gross
Professor of Education
Michigan State University

Soon after accepting the responsibility to make some remarks about the history of education today, I realized that I had made a serious error in acquiescing to the assignment. Not only did I have to face the problem of how to organize the presentation, but I also was faced with the dilemma whether such a topic actually existed. The three papers in this trilogy actually deal with the "was", "is", and the "will be." If this analogy is sound, then the history of education today deals with the is. As an educational pragmatist, I faced the ontological problem of is. If the world is precarious and all things are in flux, there actually is no present tense. We most probably all remember Heraclitus' statement in the *Fragments*:

> "All things are in flux; nothing abides
> One cannot step twice into the same river.
> In the same river we step and do not step;
> we are and we are not."

Thus I either had no topic; hence no paper to present, or I have unlimited freedom in determining the parameters of this topic.

I am reminded of the story of some philosophy students who spent the entire afternoon discussing the question of existence. Finally, one member of the group said: "I'm hungry, let's eat." To which another replied, "How can we eat, when we haven't decided whether we exist." I am sure they satisfied their hunger pangs. Following suit, I have attacked the problem assigned to me, whether it exists or not.

Since the topic was only assigned six weeks ago, time was not available to send out a questionnaire to find out how many students were taking history of education, how many classes were taught, whether it was a required subject on the undergraduate or graduate level in universities, whether too many or not enough candidates for the doctorate are being prepared in this field. I am sure that a statistical approach could have answered many questions, particularly whether we are in a dying discipline or one with a bright future. Alas, that type of study must be left for someone else.

There are, however, enough "straws in the air" to do some speculating and to indicate which way the wind is blowing. If listing of vacancies in college placement bureaus is a kind of barometer, then the paucity of vacancies listed during the past academic years would indicate either that professors of history of education are young, virile, and healthy, so did not resign or, that when vacancies occurred, the positions were eliminated. There is light comfort in the knowledge that some of the educational areas are in a worse plight than the history of education. The fact remains that the requests for professors of history of

education has decreased. It is most probably true that other universities are experiencing the same situation as that found at Michigan State University, namely, that fewer students are enrolling in classes in the history of education. The same is holding true for comparative education and philosophy of education.

The decline seems to be greater in courses dealing with specific content, such as the history of American education, history of Western education, history of educational thought, historiography, or the like. If our institution is typical, losses of students have not occurred in broad based social-philosophical foundations of education. If history of education is one thread used in the study of crucial issues in the United States, then the field is not dead. However, it does suggest that candidates for the doctorate be prepared broadly in several fields in the social-philosophical area.

Most of us are familiar with the criticisms levelled against history of education courses. The two that I hear most often are that the courses are not relevant and that they require too much work. Both criticisms may be well founded. Personally, I feel that the courses in the history of education can be and should be relevant. For the second criticism I have no apologies. These criticisms are more damaging to the critic than they are to the professor of the history of education.

There is another cause for declining enrollments. The pressure to produce student credit hours leads faculty members to urge their candidates to take courses in their own field. Thus, they may ignore basic foundational classes.

An approach quite different from a statistical study is that of the status of research in the history of education today. Fortunately, Professor Freeman Butts has covered this aspect in his insightful article "Public Education and Political Community" in the summer issue of the *History of Education Quarterly*. Revisionism is popular today. As he suggests there are two types of revisionists, namely, those who feel the schools play only a minor role in the educative functions of American Culture and those that feel the schools miseducated the people of the United States. In addition, the theme of modernization attracts followers. Butts also calls for a "thoroughgoing reexamination of the role of organized schooling in social change" and for a comparative approach to the history of American Education. Finally, Professor Butts makes an appeal for an emphasis upon the political role of American education.

What is going on in the history of education can also be determined from the courses offered at different institutions of higher education. A sampling of college catalogs indicates that the history of education is taught both as a discrete subject and also in unified courses under various labels as foundations of education. To what extent the historical threads of education are really studied in foundation courses can not be determined by an examination of catalogs. In fact, this most probably depends entirely upon the interest and competence of the

professor, and may vary from section to section within the same institution. Catalogs indicate that some institutions combine the history of education and comparative education or the history of education and the philosophy of education.

History of education courses are often divided into the history of American education and the history of Western education, which generally is a history of European education, development of educational thought, historiography. In some institutions there are courses which emphasize the development of some level of education, such as higher education, secondary education, elementary education, administration or the like.

Recent movements have also affected the history of education, as college catalogs are listing course offerings, such as History of Black Education in the United States; Public Education and Minority Groups in the United States, 1830-1930; The Education of Black Americans, The Formative Years. The following course titles indicate some specialized historical approaches: Communal and Radical Educational Perspectives; Progressive Intellectuals; Social Criticism in American Education. The description for Communal and Radical Educational Perspectives is: "Investigation of the ideological and organizational aspects of selected historical and contemporary communal, free school, and socialist educational experiments." The course in Progressive Intellectuals focuses upon the reform intellectuals of the Progressive Era. Social Criticism in American education focuses upon "an analysis of the major critical stances taken in the history of American education."

Since the focus of this paper is not upon the status of courses in the field of history of education, only a sampling was presented. This sampling indicates that there are some common elements, as foundational courses, the history of Aemrican education, and the general history of education, as well as many specific courses in the treatement of some phase of the history of education.

After considering some of the approaches in dealing with the topic assigned to me, I felt the most fruitful attack would be to analyze the purposes held by professors for teaching the history of education. It is true that the textbook more than any other single factor determines the courses, then an analysis of some of the popular texts in the history of education could give us an insight as to the state of the discipline today. Meyer states in his Preface: "I have written about the subject more or less in the vein that I have taught in my classes for more than a quarter of a century, namely, as tersely and engagingly as possible, but in consonance with the recognized tenets of historical scholarship."[1] Accepting Meyer's proposition an analysis of some popular textbooks in the field indicates what is being emphasized today.

Although it is not practical to identify all the goals established by the textbook writers, some stand out. "My aim in this book is to examine the great landmarks of American educational history."[2] I imagine most

professors are committed to this objective to a greater or lesser degree. The very fact that some events are described in books and discussed in class, while others are ignored indicates that some value judgments have been made regarding events which are important and could be classified as landmarks. The choice of topics will also reflect the purposes the instructor has in mind for teaching the course. Many professors see educational history as social history.

According to Good, "The history of education is the history of man becoming civilized and enlightened and of the institutions he has created and propagated to preserve and to advance those features of civilized life which he has learned to prize."[3] This objective is found in many of the leading textbooks and indicates a difference from the institutional history once prevalent in college courses. This approach requires professors to be knowledgeable in the total field of history, such as cultural, economic, intellectual, political, religious, and social. It moves the student away from memorizing dates and names to an understanding of the ethos affecting education. It emphasizes causality and relationships rather than description. It permits bias and subjectivity to enter into the teaching. As has been mentioned previously, the mere fact of teaching certain events and eliminating others is already an act of judgment, which involves bias. As long as the instructor is cognizant of his biases and makes them explicit, teaching meets the canons of integrity of scholarship. Education can not be isolated from society. Schools are supported by the public to teach the values the public prizes. The school can not be studied in isolation. It does not exist in a vacuum.

History of education today also emphasizes the power of theory. Bolingbroke defined history in the following terms. "I have read somehow or other -- in Dionysius of Halicarnassus I think -- that History is Philosophy teaching by examples."[4] Courses in the history of educational thought emphasize the philosophies of educators who have influenced educational practice. Students often complain that there is too much theory and too little relevance in courses in the social-philosophical foundations area. I well remember the undergraduate student sitting in the student Union some years ago, who told a friend of mine in my presence that the best lesson she ever had in an education course was the one where the instructor spent much of a period showing potential teachers how to write on the blackboard. Unfortunately some of the professors of education have succumbed to the temptation to prepare technicians rather than professionals. Some professors believe that teaching a "bag of tricks" is more useful than teaching potential teachers how to make decisions. They fail to see that the history of education can be a discipline which teaches people to use historical materials as tools in understanding educational issues and determining educational policy. The history of education today is emphasizing that teachers are professionals who are personally responsible for making decisions. A knowledge of successful educational practices should assist potential teachers in making sound decisions in similar situations. Courses in the history of education today bring in philosophical, sociological, and anthropological factors which

affected education. Thus, the potential teacher becomes acquainted with the elements needed in successful decision-making.

Closely related to this emphasis is that of understanding the role of education in American democracy. Not only does education shape American society, but it is also shaped by it. Teachers planning to teach in public schools have a responsibility in knowing the core values of the society. As public employees they are being employed to develop these values. Unfortunately some of our beginning teachers feel that they have been commissioned to erect a new society in their own image.

There seems to be an acceptance of the idea that courses in the history of education have the responsiblity of preparing teachers to solve present day problems in the light of the past. Laudable as this objective may be, some credence must be given to the cliche that "history never teaches us anything." Many individuals felt that the separation of church and state in education had been resolved by the early national period in the United States. It either was not solved or it resurfaced about ten years ago in the demand for parochiaid. The arguments for separation of church and state in education seem to have been forgotten in the recent debates about the same topic. It is true that the situation was not completely identical to the 17th and 18th centuries, but many of the basic principles were the same. Yet the goals of courses in the history of education often include the one which emphasizes learning from the past. Thus, we have a faith that history is valuable in solving present day problems.

Some of the textbooks studied unabashedly suggested that the study of the history of education is a field of knowledge which is interesting and valuable in its own right. I am sure that this is an unconscious feeling held by most teachers of this subject. If the subject is well taught it can be part of liberal education. It can be beneficial to every citizen. A course in the history of American education would be beneficial for the citizen in understanding his school system and particularly how the common school has emerged, and why taxes should be levied for public schools

There is also an optimistic side to teaching the history of education. The theme that progress has been made can be developed. With all the cynicism which could develop from the realization that problems supposedly solved surface again and again a study of the history of education does indicate that we have made progress in some areas. We have extended the equality of educational opportunity, have better prepared teachers, are providing better facilities, such as school buildings, teaching materials, and the like. Progress can be shown in additional areas. The study of the history of education does dispel the idea that there are panaceas. It does make the teacher wary of the new fads in education. It teaches him to have a balanced perspective.

This presentation has not resolved the problem whether professors of the history of education would have a greater influence upon students

by placing their major emphasis in unified courses in social-philosophical foundations of education or by maintaining discrete courses in the history of education. The former generally would reach more students. The latter focuses directly upon the discipline. Nor has this paper solved the question whether we should curtail the production of Ph.D.'s in the field due to the declining market. There is a moral question involved. Enticing graduate students into an area which offers a limited number of positions, nearly appears as the exploitation of other individuals to save our own positions. The speaker feels that history of education courses are needed by all teachers and certainly by graduate students in education if they are to be professionals and make sound educational decisions. Thus, in a period of time when there is a reaction against required courses, we have to oppose this trend and emphasize those aspects of our course which are relevant to students.

As indicated in the introduction, it is difficult to make generalizations on the present tense or the "is" of the history of education. Perhaps Heraclitus was correct. I realize that this presentation has been a mere sampling of some of the problems in our field at the present time. I would suggest that a more definite study could be made concerning the number of courses taught, the number of students enrolled, the number of doctorates produced, the level of courses (undergraduate or graduate) taught, the types of courses offered, and the like. This would give us some indication of the needs in the field.

History of education has a function to perform, both as a service course to all prospective teachers and as a specialty for those individuals who want to concentrate their studies in the history of education. Hopefully we can refute Lord Chesterfield, who wrote to his son. "History is merely a confused heap of facts."[5] Today we can also reject Lord Byron's charge:

> "When history's pen its praise or blame supplies,
> And lies like truth, and still most truly lies."[6]

NOTES

1 Adolphe E. Meyer, *An Educational History of the American People*, (New York: McGraw–Hill, 1957, page IX)

2 *Ibid.*

3 H. G. Good, *A History of Western Education*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960, page 3)

4 Bolingbroke, *On the Study and Use of History*, Letter II.

5 Lord Chesterfield, *Letters to His Son*, February 5, 1950.

6 Lord Byron, *Lara*, Canto i, Stanza II.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE FUTURE: OBSOLESCENCE OR RELEVANCE

Adelia M. Peters
Bowling Green State University

As historians of education survey the stagnant, tightening job market, the decreasing enrollments in history and the apparent growing emphasis in undergraduate programs on general foundations of education rather than on specific disciplines within foundations, the future of history of education appears dark. Harold D. Lasswell's statement, "mankind is passing from the primacy of the past to the primacy of expectations of vast future changes" seems to me to foreshadow a death-blow, perhaps wisely, to many types of historical study.

Many publishers report a decreasing market for history of education textbooks. Elinor Mondale Gersman in the Spring, 1973 issue of the History of Education Quarterly, after reviewing a variety of textbooks in American Educational History, concludes:

> Obviously, the preparation of a really fine textbook treating education as acculturation rather than schooling is possible, some of the paths for such a work have already been smoothed, and it is important to the field of educational history that it be done.
>
> Because educational history is in such a state of upheaval, re-evaluation and discovery, it may be appropriate for a while to publish texts which suggest questions, problems and approaches to study. With a definition of purpose stated, developed and defended, this approach would make clear to students that interpretations can be developed in a number of ways, that they are not necessarily immutable, and that they must be supported by evidence and discussion. Whether publishers and authors, who are married to the perception of teachers-in-training and educational history as poor academic materials, will be able to change is a moot point. If they will not or cannot, then the responsibility lies squarely with the schools and instructors who continue to buy such poor texts as are available, and with the historians at both graduate and undergraduate levels who complain about textbooks but are unwilling to devote the time and effort to writing better ones. (Gersman, p. 50.)

Her request for the continued critical, analytical re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the transmission of culture from one generation to the next seems to me to be echoed by the majority of historians of education. Since the appearance in 1960 of Bernard Bailyn's Education in the Forming of American Society, few argue that the history of education is the history of schooling.

Asa Briggs, in the first volume of the British journal History of Education (1972) outlines six approaches to the discipline which he believes will be fruitful for historians of education in the future. First is a fresh approach to local history, far more sophisticated than in the past. This approach, he writes,

has cast off the shackles of antiquarianism, has moved from a rural to an urban ambiance, and has begun to take account not only of institutions or of personalities but of structures and processes. At its best, such study does not divide the past into convenient periods; it searches across the centuries for continuities and discontinuities. Moreover, as it broadens out, it ceases to involve an exercise in illustrating what is already known about national history from local examples and becomes a means of reconstructing national history afresh from local materials. (Briggs, pp. 6-7)

The second approach he outlines is comparative history, "a natural sequel to the rediscovery of the variety of experience embedded in local, regional and national sub-cultures." Comparative history reveals commonalities and differences between societies and serves to sensitize historians to the need for care in developing sound methodologies.

Quantitative history is the third type. He argues that it is used most effectively in combination with other approaches, and agrees with Schumpeter that statistics are needed not only for explaining things but in order to know precisely what there is to be explained.

A new brand of social history is yet a fourth approach which Briggs suggests for historians in the future. Inter-disciplinary in nature, and still in the process of articulation and development, it eclectically gleans concepts from sociology, anthropology and psychology without being imprisoned in borrowed social science categories. (P. 7)

Fifth in the suggested approaches is an "analytical kind of political history, with attention moving from particular pieces of legislation,....to cumulative administrative processes, to the making of critical decisions, to the changing scale and role of organization." (P. 7)

The sixth and final approach to writing history of education relates to intellectual and cultural history. Like Gersman, and Sol Cohen, he appears to be excited that the history of ideas is beginning to come into its own "not merely the history of the ideas of 'great thinkers' but the history of chains of ideas and their mode of communication through different 'media', the shifting relationships between 'minority' and 'mass' communication, the significance of 'language' and the forms of 'control'." (P. 8)

Historians of education in the future will undoubtedly pursue each of these six approaches as attempts to critically analyze the past continue.

Sol Cohen, in his article "New Perspectives in the History of American Education 1960-1970" also recognizes the growing movement away from parochial, anachronistic writings in the history of education. He emphasizes three conditions for reinterpretation in history: "one, the discovery of new source materials; two, the impact of new theories, new methods, new academic disciplines; and three, the asking of new or different kinds of questions of the historical data, old

or new." (P. 83) It is this last condition which I find most challenging and potentially fruitful in teaching the history of education. If the profession is to survive and if historians of education are to overcome gloomy prognostications that history of education will become increasingly more irrelevant, obsolete and useless, different kinds of questions must be found.

If obsolescence is to be avoided historians of education in the future must continually, persistently ask the question "What knowledge is most worthwhile?" As change accelerates and the knowledge explosion provides ever increasing amounts of raw data, this question becomes increasingly vital. A partial answer, it seems to me, is that worthwhile knowledge provides insights into the two basic themes of continuity and change. A useful, concise model for dealing with these two themes was developed in 1971 at the Center for Adaptive Learning and is briefly outlined by Michael A. McDanield in his essay "Tomorrow's Curriculum Today." It is this model that I am currently attempting to modify for use in the graduate courses in history of education at Bowling Green. Using selected primary and secondary sources, students are asked to consider the seven change factors outlined below:

SEVEN CHANGE FACTORS
(McDanield, pp. 114-117)

1. Demographic
   We presume that in any culture increases or decreases in population, or shifts in the age and sex distribution, generate other changes. We would include under this variations in birth and death rates, life span, family size, balance of young vs. old, migrations, etc.

2. Technological Innovation
   We assert that changes in technology trigger other changes. We define technology here in the limited more or less colloquial sense, as having to do with productivity and machines. We would use a broad definition of innovation to include even seemingly small adaptive changes in existing machines. A shift from ropes to horse collars, increasing the ability of the animal to pull, is by this definition a technological advance, as is the invention of a modified, faster Xerox machine or computer.

3. Social Innovation
   The term "social" is used here in a broad sense to include the invention of new arrangements, systems or styles in educational, political, economic, military and other dimensions. Innovation here is even more difficult to define than it is in the technological sphere, but would include new ways of organizing human effort (i.e., the corporation), new political institutions (parliaments), new ways of organizing war (Panzer blitzkreig vs. trench warfare), etc.

4. Cultural-Value Shifts
   Every society holds a set of upspoken assumptions, and carries out a great deal of unrationalized behavior. It also manifests a value

system. Changes in cultural axioms or values may trigger significant other changes. Example of a change incultural assumptions: the unnoticed shift in the way men used time after the coming of industrialism. (Conception of linear time, refined, carefully conditioned habits of punctuality, etc., based on need for synchronized work.) Example of a shift in value: The decline in the importance attached to property and/or virginity.

5. Ecological Shifts
   Changes in human society may also be occasioned by changes in the natural ecology--the glacier moving down across Europe, the decline of the caribou population in Lapland, earthquake, tidal wave, the appearance of new kinds of crops because of transplantation from abroad, the pollution of rivers or oceans, etc. This would include the impact of climatic conditions on culture and personality, etc.

6. Information-Idea Shifts
   The scope, quality and manipulability of knowledge all fall within this category, so that a scientific discovery, a new theory about race or child rearing, new verbalized conceptions about how things work, all exemplify change in the character and distribution of the knowledge pool. (Knowledge and information are here used interchangeably.)

7. Cultural Diffusion
   Any transfer of ideas, values, or techniques from one culture to another, whether as a consequence of invasion, war, advertising, increased travel, etc. A significant difference exists, however, between cultural diffusion and the other six change factors, since it operates at a different level and can be said to incorporate the others. For example, when a production technique like the Bessemer furnace, developed in Europe, is imported to the United States it operates exactly like a Technical Innovation. One culture may borrow values or information from another. These, when introduced into the borrowing culture, represent Cultural-Value Shifts or Information-Idea Shifts. Cultural Diffusion, therefore, may take the form of any of the other change factors and is defined purely in terms of origin outside the culture.

In accordance with the intent of the designers, students are encouraged to become actively involved in using the model. In addition to contemplating, manipulating and utilizing the model in data gathering, they are asked to compare it with others, modify it and, eventually to construct alternate models appropriate to the organization of historical data. As an approach to the history of education, I hope that it will facilitate the continued search for relevant questions and provide students with a counterbalance to the present-centeredness that seems to prevail in this decade.

SOURCES

Bell, Wendell. "Social Science: The Future As A Missing Variable." published in *Learning for Tomorrow: The Role of the Future in Education*, edited by Alvin Toffler. New York: Vintage, 1974. Pages 75-102.

Briggs, Asa. "The Study of the History of Education." *History of Education*. January, 1972, Volume 1, pp. 5-22.

Butts, R. Freeman. "Civilization-Building and the Modernization Process: A Framework for the Reinterpretation of the History of Education." *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer, 1967. Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 147-174.

Cohen, Sol. "New Perspectives in the History of American Education, 1960-1970." *History of Education*, January, 1973, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 79-96.

Cutler, William W. "Oral History-Its Nature and Uses for Educational History." *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer, 1973, pp. 184-194.

Gersman, Elinor M. "Textbooks in American Educational History." *History of Education Quarterly*, Spring, 1973, Volume XIII, Number 1, pp. 41-51.

Greene, Maxine. "The Professional Significance of History of Education." *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer, 1967, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 182-190.

Hodysh, Henry. "Some Neglected Philosophical Problems Regarding History of Education." *History of Education Quarterly*, Fall, 1969, pp. 361-371.

Hood, Bruce L. "The Historian of Education: Some Notes on His Role." *History of Education Quarterly*, Fall, 1969, pp. 372-375.

Kaestle, Carl. "Social Reform and the Urban School." *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer, 1972, pp. 211-228.

Mattingly, Paul H. "Sociology and/or History: Some Private Talks on Mutual Problems." *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer, 1969, pp. 253-259.

McDanield, Michael A. "Tomorrow's Curriculum Today" published in *Learning for Tomorrow: The Role of the Future in Education* edited by Alvin Toffler. New York: Vintage, 1974, pp. 103-131.

Moehlman, Arthur H. et. al. *A Guide to Computer Assisted Historical Research in American Education*. Austin: The Center for History of Education, University of Texas, 1969.

Shorter, Edward. *The Historian and the Computer: A Practical Guide*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971.

Veysey, Laurence R. "Toward A New Direction in Educational History: Prospect and Retrospect." *History of Education Quarterly*, Fall, 1969, pp. 343-359.

Wesley, Edgar Bruce. "Lo, the Poor History of Education." *History of Education Quarterly*, Fall, 1969, pp. 329-342.

OUTLINE OF A MODEL FOR AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

W. Richard Stephens
Professor of Education and History
Academic Dean
Greenville College, Greenville, Illinois

The history of history reveals that revisionism has been the rule rather than the exception, so it is not surprising that educational history is now in the throes of a revisionist controversy. And likely it will be the case that future historians of education will continue to face the phenomenon of revisionism. This is a healthy sign for educational historiography because, on the one hand, revisionism demonstrates that the results of historical scholarship matter, and on the other hand, that historians take human fallibility seriously. The perceptual glass through which educational historians see the past is dark indeed; hence, the posture of humility is the only proper one for serious researchers to hold toward their work. The problem is, however, that the arguments among revisionists and their antagonists may reduce to who is right rather than what is right. When that occurs, the longstanding norm of disinterested and dispassionate inquiry no longer can serve as a check on historical study.

One virtue of the contemporary revisionist controversy in American educational historiography is that much clarification of the state of the field is emerging. One recent example of this clarifying process is Freeman Butts' article, "Public Education and Political Community."[1] Butts' work is helpful in pointing out the central themes which have characterized the revisionists from Cubberly to the "culturalists" to the "radicals." Finding strengths and weaknesses as well as significant contributions from each of the above thrusts, Butts concludes with a call for a more "inclusive conceptual framework" which can lend guidance to inquiry and order to educational historiography in the future. Noting the many different types of studies now underway, and "many, many more in the works," Butts hopes that the result of the ferment will be

> a soundly-based, inclusive conceptual framework for the history of American public schooling that will not only satisfy the most rigorous canons of historical scholarship, but will assist policy-makers and opinion-makers to develop a responsible and creative role for American education in the post-modern era of the nation's third century. Such a conception would be the best antidote for a microscopic empiricism in historical research as well as for a narrow ideological revisionism. But we will need to weave these separate studies together into an overall synthesis. We will need to put it all together.[2]

Professor Butts' plea is almost an echo of Faust's quest to "know what holds the universe together at its deepest center," and of Ranke's search for "universal history." But before such a universal synthesis is possible, perhaps we should satisfy ourselves with the quest for a more modest,

earthy model, one which reaches from the discipline of history toward the other social sciences for concepts and methodologies which appear useful. This is no new call inasmuch as Huizinga voiced it in 1934:

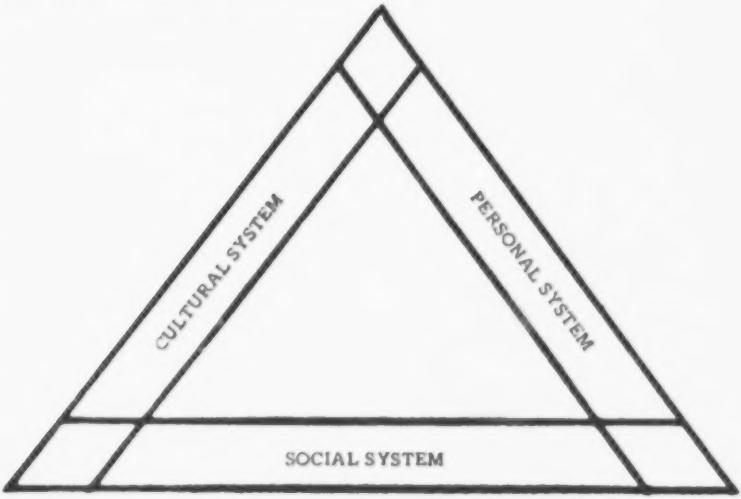
> It almost goes without saying that . . . the boundaries between the historical and sociological points of view are often crossed. To make his picture intelligible, the historian must make repeated use of the terms and methods of the systematic social sciences, particularly in dealing with special aspects of culture, such as the history of religion, art, or law, where the dividing line between the descriptive and the formulative is hazy.[3]

More recently the call for historians to become more sophisticated and intellectually self-conscious in the uses of the social sciences has been issued by Richard Hofstader and Seymour Martin Lipset. Hofstader observed that as American historians have broadened their research interests to include a "wide variety of aspects of human behavior--marriage and the family, religious and social institutions, education, urbanization, and many others," the need has arisen for "unifying ideas with which to put these concerns into intelligible relations."[4] In response to this need, Hofstader notes that a new historical genre is beginning to appear. This new genre calls for more attention to be paid by the historian to the complex conceptual structures which frame his qustions, guide his research, and explain his findings.

The current state of American educational historiography, disparate and fragmented as it is, should not be forced to bow at the altars of either the culturalists or the radicals, to use Butts' terms. But neither should we fail to make the reach for what appear to be more comprehensive conceptual models, the kind Huizinga, Hofstader, and Butts have called for. It is from this posture that the outline of a model for American educational historiography is proposed as a heuristic device.

The proposed conceptual model for generating both historical problems and explanations is based upon the work of Talcott Parsons.[5] The "theory of action" is the most general term for the model that Parsons and his colleagues have been working on for a number of years. The theory of action is comprised of three major concepts which articulate with each other and which are integrated around the concept of value. These concepts are cultural system, social system, and personal system. Values exist as ideas and beliefs in the cultural system, as role expectations in the social system, and as need-dispositions in the personal system. As an individual's life takes shape, it does so in a culture, whose values get organized into roles in various social groups and organizations, which reinforce the development of certain need patterns and priorities and beliefs by the individual. These need patterns and beliefs in turn incline the individual to orient to the value standards in the culture in the course of his daily life. The following schema portrays visually the concepts in the model.

Model for studying Culture and Schools



A. Cultural System:

A design for living comprised of the action-thought ways of a people. From culture people derive their ultimate as well as immediate values, their interpretations of life, the goals for which they strive. Cultural reality is thus a value reality. The cherished symbols, ideas, and beliefs of a people are essential elements of a culture.

B. Social System:

A set of roles integrated in their relationships and functions by a shared goal or purpose. Any group of persons who share common value-orientations or commitments to action patterns in roles are the system's source of dynamic.

C. Personal System:

The need-dispositions which have been formed out of the innate drives of an individual by a particular culture system(s) and social system(s). These need-dispositions are integrated into a hierarchy and influence a person's orientations toward certain values in the culture.

A virtue of this action model is that it widens the historian's vision to include, or knowingly to exclude, salient factors which impinge upon the process of education or schooling. Further, the model permits the historian to observe the interactions of the factors as he attempts to explain why certain educational events occurred as they did. It also permits the observation of a society in relation to its educational processes over time; both continuities and discontinuities, along with changes, may be observed. In short, the model provides functionally integrated categories into which a broad range of data from the past may be cast in such ways that explanations may be developed to fit the data.

A few illustrations may help clarify possible uses of the model for developing an historical understanding of American education. During periods of cultural change, the problem of determining which tasks a society assigns the school to accomplish vis-a-vis the young, how it makes those assignments and with what consequences, becomes somewhat manageable. For example, as the value of work underwent change in the shift from an agrarian culture to an urban culture, what changes, if any, did the school as a social system make in its teachings and expectations about work, and in its articulation with occupational subsystems? To take another example, as the American culture has become increasingly pluralistic in its values, and as the young experience these conflicting values by membership in several different social systems with their unique value-orientations, what consequences show up in the young in terms of their need-disposition patterns and priorities. The influence on the character of schooling from bureaucratization, where a stable system of values has grown into an ideology of the culture, may permit an elucidation of the gap between the actual educational consequences and the educational ideals. The model also may assist the historian to formulate questions about the consequences which may flow to a local subculture from the social system of the school whose teachers and administrators cherished and reinforced the young in the direction of a variant value system. This problem can be studied in a variety of racial, ethnic, and religious subcultures.

Literally hundreds of other historical problems in education may be generated from the action model. The long-term outcome of research in this vein could be the accumulation of additional reliable information about the history of education, and also the development of explanatory generalizations about the functional relationships which seem to inhere among schools as social systems and their culture systems.

The action model would not reduce the ferment in the field which follows revisionist movements. What it would do is bring to the attention of historians--revisionists and others--the range of factors their studies should encompass before narrow-based generalizations are put forth as new light for public policy-makers and opinion leaders relative to American education.

NOTES

1. Freeman Butts, "Public Education and Political Community," *History of Education Quarterly*, XIV, Number 2, (Summer, 1974), pp. 165-183.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

3. J. Huizinga, "Historical Conceptualization," in Fritz Stern, ed., *The Varieties of History (New York, 1960), p. 293.*

4. Richard Hofstader and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Sociology and History: Methods* (New York, 1968), p. 8.

5. Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., *Toward a General Theory of Action* (New York, 1951).

Presented to the Midwest History of Education Society, October 25, 1974.

PART II

EDITOR'S SUPPLEMENT

UTOPIANISM AND EDUCATION

MILLENNIALISM AND EDUCATION, THE CASE OF ROBERT OWEN

by

Robert G. Clouse
Professor of History
Indiana State University

A paper presented at the History of Education Society Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, October 25, 1973.

The Western Christian tradition has always been conscious of a future hope centered in the return of Christ. When this idea has taken the form of a millennial reign of justice it has exercised considerable influence on many social reformers. Some of these leaders such as Robert Owen have felt that the arrival of the just society was heavily dependent upon a new type of educational experience. The following study is presented to aid in understanding this type of social thought and the relationship of millennialism and education. The topics dealt with include a definition and brief historical description of the various shades of millennialist belief, the relationship of millennial thought to education, and Owen's ideas of education and his millennialist scheme.

Before turning to Owen's thought it is necessary to understand the millennialist interpretation on which he depended so heavily. Using as basic texts such passages as Daniel 2 and Revelation 20, millennialists have fashioned systems regarding the return of Christ and the future of God's kingdom which are labelled Postmillennial, Amillennial and Premillennial. These categories although widely accepted are in certain respects unfortunate and misleading. For the distinction involves a great deal more than merely whether Christ returns before or after the millennium. The kingdom expected by the premillennialist is quite different from that anticipated by the postmillennialist, not only with respect to the time and manner in which it will be set up but also in regard to the nature of the kingdom and the way Christ exercises his control over it. The implications of these views can be understood more clearly by defining them in greater detail. The Postmillennialist believes that the Kingdom of God is now being extended through Christian preaching and teaching as a result of which the world will be Christianized and will enjoy a long period of peace and righteousness called the Millennium. The new age will now be essentially different from the present and it emerges as an increasingly larger proportion of the world's inhabitants are converted to Christianity. Evil is not eliminated but will be reduced to a minimum as the moral and spiritual influence of Christians is heightened. The church will assume a much greater importance and many social, economic and educational problems will be solved. This period closes with the second coming of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgment. Thus the emphasis of Postmillennialists is upon a spiritual kingdom in the hearts of men

Amillennialists hold that the Bible does not predict a period of universal peace and righteousness before the end of the world. They believe that there will be a parallel and contemporary growth of good and evil in the world which will continue until the second coming of Christ when the dead shall be raised and the last judgment held.

Premillennialists teach that the return of Christ will be followed by a period of peace and righteousness, before the end of the world, during which Christ will reign as King in person or through a select group of people. This kingdom is not to be established by the conversion of individual souls over a long period of time, but suddenly and by overwhelming power. The Jews will be converted and will become very important during this period. Nature is to share in the millennial blessings by being abundantly productive with even the ferocious beasts tamed. Evil is held in check during this age by Christ who rules with a rod of iron. However, at the end of the millennium there is a rebellion of wicked men which almost overwhelms the saints. Some Premillennialists have taught that during this golden age dead believers will be reunited with glorified bodies to mingle freely with the rest of the inhabitants of the earth. After the millennium the non-Christian dead are raised and the eternal state of heaven or hell is established. Premillennialists usually believe that the return of Christ will be preceded by certain signs, such as the preaching of the Gospel to all nations, a great apostacy, wars, famines, earthquakes, the appearance of the Antichrist, and a great tribulation.

Although these interpretations have never been without adherents in the course of the church's history, in certain ages a particular outlook has predominated.[1] During the first three centuries of the Christian era premillennialism appears to have been the dominant eschatology. Among its adherents were Papias, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Methodus, Commodianus and Lactantius. When the Christian church was given a favored status under the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century, the millennium was reinterpreted to refer to the church. Augustine was the most famous exponent of this prevailing medieval amillennialist view that the Book of Revelation was to be understood symbolically and that the millennium was realized in the church. His teaching was so fully accepted that at the Council of Ephesus in 431, belief in the millennium was condemned as superstition. During the middle ages despite the teaching of isolated individuals such as Joachim of Fiore the Amillennialist eschatology held sway.

The Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century, although still accepting Augustinian amillennialism, inaugurated changes in eschatological interpretation which set the stage for a great renewal of premillennial interest during the seventeenth century. Luther, for example, advocated a more literal approach to the Scriptures and identified the papacy with the Antichrist. He called attention to Bible prophecies, and later Lutheran scholars redirected his interest to focus on a millennialist interpretation. John Calvin, like Luther, was extremely cautious in his approach to millenarian interpretations, possibly because of the excesses of certain Anabaptist groups.[2] Despite

his opposition, it was a German Calvinist theologian, Johann Heinrich Alsted, who revived the teaching of premillennialism in an academically respectable form in the modern world.[3] Alsted's *Beloved City* which presented his teaching appeared in 1627 and through the learned Anglican scholar, Joseph Mede, became influential in the millenarian enthusiasm attendant on the outbreak of the Puritan revolution.[4] With the restoration of the Stuart rulers, premillennialism was discredited due to its connection with Puritan fanatics such as the Fifth Monarchy Men. Still premillennialism lived on through the work of men such as J. H. Bengel, Isaac Newton, and Joseph Priestley. However, postmillennialism now became the prevailing eschatological interpretation receiving its most impressive formulation through the work of Daniel Whitby (1638-1726). According to his interpretation, the world was to be converted to Christ, the Jews restored to their land, and the pope and the Turks defeated after which the earth would enjoy a time of universal peace, happiness, and righteousness for 1000 years. At the close of this period Christ would return personally for the last judgment. Perhaps because of its agreement with the views of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, postmillennialism was adopted by the leading commentators and preachers of the age.[5] Even with the ascendancy of the postmillennial view a time of war, social and economic upheaval, plague, earthquakes or other natural disasters caused the premillennial view with its zeal toward a new reading of the signs of the times and date setting to be proclaimed anew. During the period of Robert Owen's life (1771-1858) there was a time of crisis which encouraged a period of premillennial speculation.

Before turning to a more direct view of Owen's millennialism it might be well to notice how the various shades of millennialist thought relate to education. The premillennialist, who looks for a supernatural rule of Christ does not put the same stress on education as the postmillennialist who believes that the new age will come through an extension of processes now at work. Premillennialists have usually concentrated their energies on evangelism and largely ignored social issues except for occasional attempts to regulate what they judge to be personal vices. Thus their educational activities generally center around Biblical instruction which would be helpful in soul winning. In opposition to this, the postmillennialists, and to a certain extent the amillennialists, emphasize education, especially on the moral level. In their view, the growth of literacy, schools and an enlightened population would be a barometer of the approach of the millennial age. As a rather recent apologists for the postmillennial view put it, "Knowledge has become very widespread. Schools, even for advanced study, have been made available for all classes of people, and books, magazines, newspapers, libraries, scientific laboratories, etc., make available for all of our people vast stores of knowledge that only two or three generations ago was confined almost exclusively to favored, limited groups."[6] This process will lead to Christianity becoming "the controlling and transforming influence not only in the moral and spiritual life of some individuals, but also in the entire social, economic and cultural life of the nation. There is no reason why this change should not take place over the entire earth, with pagan religions and false philosophies giving place to the true, and the earth being restored in considerable measure to that high purpose of righteousness and holiness for which it was created."[7] Millennial views of this type can be

helpful to education while the premillennial outlook can be decidedly anti-intellectual and narrow.

As we have already indicated Owen lived in a time of renewed interest in millennial ideas. The nineteenth century period of prophetic enthusiasm was fostered by the French Revolution. To live through the decade of the 1790's in itself constituted an experience in apocalypticism for many inhabitants of Western Europe. The violent uprooting of political and social institutions forced many to the conclusion that a new age was near. There was also a new interest in the future of the Jews coupled with the millenarian enthusiasm with regard to the prophetic scriptures. In England, Edward Irving and his followers, the Albury Conferences, and the Plymouth Brethren movement, were all part of this millennialist revival.

Throughout his life Owen was interested in millennialism and although his approach is difficult to categorize, his educational views certainly place him with the postmillennialists. Owen had parted company with many Christian ideas, but others still exercised a profound influence on him. As a recent writer has put it "In religion, Robert Owen was both a deist and a millennialist, a child of the Enlightenment and an example of enthusiasm."[8] And it is important to notice "that millennialism is a way of looking at the world, not a set of conclusions; the conclusions which may be reached through this way of looking are extremely diverse, and though their family relationship is apparent, it is relationship of style, concept, vocabulary and mood, dependent ultimately upon reference back to a common set of biblical texts and symbols. Millennialism is a mood of expectation, not a doctrine."[9]

Owen was convinced that he was living in a time of momentous change which presaged a new age. Frequently he made lists of the great events which pointed in the direction of the millennium. Among these "signs of the times," as the premillennialist would call them, he listed the inventions and discoveries of men such as Arkwright, Watt, Brindley, Fulton, Windsor, and Wheatstone (including railways, steam navigation, and the electric telegraph). Certain political developments such as the excitement in the United States between the Free-soilers and proslavery parties and international catastrophes like the Crimean War also encouraged him.[10] Owen frequently referred to the vast increase in the manufacturing ability of the British nation and the spread of its people throughout the world as an indication of great changes. Again, he called attention to the submarine telegraph preparing to unite the most advanced countries of the world and making it possible to form treaties among the nations to make permanent peace. He also included the activities of the good and superior spirits who assured him that they were using their influence "in their new sphere of existence to turn... evil to good."[11] But the most important sign of the advent of a new era was Owen's own message and activity. He felt that he had discovered the error in the way people were taught and now he came as the teacher to instruct mankind "that any character from the worst to the best, may be given to the human race; and that the best may be given to all from birth."[12]

He believed that his ideas would lead directly to the new age in the same sense that a postmillennialist believes that the spread of knowledge and Christian doctrine will lead to a new era. In fact, as he looked back over human experience he could see it as a struggle between ignorance aided by superstition, faith and hypocrisy; and nature (or God) assisted by experience, knowledge and truth. Owen felt that he had been conditioned in a providential way to discover and present the new truth to man. As he stated:

> In early youth I was strongly impressed with the conviction that 'truth is always consistent with itself and in accordance with all facts, which constitute the unchanging laws of nature.' I was fortunately uneducated according to the notions entertained under the existing system of society. I had therefore the less to unlearn and the fewer prejudices to contend against. I was taught only to read, write and to understand the elements of arithmetic, in a common school, in a small town consisting then of about nine hundred inhabitants. But I was early fond of reading, and I read immensely; and by this reading of all books which came in my way, as I read them was my real education commenced. I read promiscuously in the leading novels of that period (1780), -- Shakspeare (sic), -- Milton, -- Harvey, --Young's night thoughts, -- the Circumnavigation, -- Lives of the Ancient Philosophers, and their Philosophies, -- Biographies, etc., etc., etc. But I read all these differently from most youths.[13]

Thus Owen was led to conclusions directly contrary to the thinking of most men of his time and class. For the successful capitalist of the early nineteenth century, it seemed evident that the workers were poor because they were ignorant, lazy and intemperate. Poverty was not only viewed as a just consequence of sinful behavior but was believed to be an essential part of the natural order. Owen rejected this claim and came to feel that people were poor because of a lack of opportunity and education.

This being the case it was necessary for men to receive a proper education, as he was fond of repeating endlessly, 'the character of man is formed for him and not by him.' According to Owen, man is born with three desires: (1) a self-interested drive to be happy, (2) natural inclinations which come from appetites and instincts, and (3) faculties, which receive, convey, and compare ideas. These faculties and inclinations vary from person to person but Owen was most concerned with what happens to these faculties in the course of life.

Through them, man acquires ideas which constitute the mind. These ideas which derive from the objects around one and from the example and institutions of one's predecessors differ in extent and truth according to the knowledge possessed by the community. He believed that the government which was responsible for the good of the

community should see that the principles by which society works are free from error and rational so that these faculties could be properly formed. The most important change necessary to produce this type of society must be to attack the restriction on truth exercised by religion.

Owen denounced the religion of his day for asserting that men form their own character and are responsible to God and their fellow men, feeling that this produced most of the misery and inconsistency in the world. Therefore the educational system controlled by the churches must be eliminated. Not only was this clerical education inadequate, but the schools established by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster were also rejected by Owen since they relied too heavily upon memory. Learning, he felt, should be imparted through a rational plan for the formation of character, which "should include all of the modern improvements of education, without regard to the system of any one individual; and should not exclude the child of any one subject in the empire."[14]

Owen was particularly innovative in his conception of the nature and potential of children. Here he was in direct opposition to the belief in the child's original sin which had been used to justify the grosser maltreatment of pupils. "Not one of (the) causes of character is at the command, or in any manner under the control, of infants, who (whatever absurdity we may have been taught to the contrary) cannot possibly be accountable for the sentiments and manners which may be given to them... Children are, without exception, passive and wonderfully contrived compounds which may be ultimately moulded into the very image of national wishes and devices."[15] Children's minds, unlike those of adults, are open books on which new ideas may be inscribed at will. They must not be handled with punishment or through the use of competition but with kindness and patience. Children were to be admitted to school at as young an age as possible where they would learn through the senses by dancing, play, and practical experiment. Book learning was to be postponed until the age of ten. However, constant appeals should be made to reason, since the goal of education was not the accumulation of facts, but an understanding of the "clear and inseparable connexion which exists between the interest and happiness of each individual and the interest and happiness of every other individual."[16] This will form the child into a moral and generous being for he "will have acquired reasons sufficient to exhibit to him forcibly the irrationality of being angry with an individual for possessing qualities which... he had not the means of preventing... Thus shortly, directly, and certainly may mankind be taught the essence, and to attain the ultimate object, of all former moral and religious instruction."[17]

New Lanark gave Owen an opportunity to put into practice some of his ideas. There in 1816 he opened the Institution for the Formation of Character, designed, as he explained in a speech to the people of New Lanark, "to effect a complete and thorough improvement in the *internal* as well as the external character of the whole village."[18] The Institute fulfilled the functions of child care center, day school, adult

education center and community cultural center. Here the character of the young could be developed by kind treatment and humane relations with playmates. The curriculum of the school was framed so that children learned as a cooperative and joyful process rather than through competitive drudgery. Memorization was deemphasized and singing, dancing and physical exercise were integral parts of the curriculum.

Once Owen saw the possibilities of his educational system that man when enlightened could make his fellow man happy, he was led to direct all his energies to convince others of his ideas. Consequently he published voluminous materials beginning with his four essays entitled *A New View of Society*, held public meetings such as those in London in 1817, and visited learned institutions and leading government officials throughout Europe and the United States.

The success of Owen's experience at New Lanark led him to believe that the world could be changed by the founding of new communities where his educational and social principles could be put into practice. These villages of cooperation would properly prepare the world for the new age. This change of system could be inaugurated, he felt, "as the old gravel roads were peaceably and most beneficially superceded gradually by the new iron roads, by which the population of so many nations are deriving incalculable varied advantages."[19] To move toward the goal of establishing cooperative communities, Owen taught that all nations should make a treaty to ensure justice and protect themselves from aggression. Then villages of cooperation should be established beginning with a central city of 2-3,000 settled on 4,000-6,000 acres of fertile ground. Other cities could be founded modelled on the central city extending in circle after circle to the end of the domain. The major duty of the government under these new conditions would be to receive and impart information to the associated communities. Finally, through the rise of improved communications all the world would become one large English speaking family.

> In the millennial state there can be but one country for all, and that will be our earth, from north to south and east to west. This will be the estate of the family of man, and every child born into the millennial life will be a legitimate heir to his or her portion of it... all will have an interest in its high cultivation, in the beauty of its scenery; in the increase of both; in preventing any waste, injury or deterioration; and then shall universal care be taken of it until it shall become a second garden of Eden, inhabited by highly intelligent, yet good and innocent men and women.[20]

The last classification that he makes distinguishes twelve classes in the new moral world. These divisions, which reflect Owen's appreciation of the first few years of life, focus attention on the care and training of the young. He states "that the adults of each family commonwealth will have the full power to form a good and superior character for each one born among them and it will be the evident interest of every such adult to lend their best aid to perfect each one thus committed to their charge--physically, mentally, and practically to

the extent of their acquired knowledge on this the most important department of life."[21] By the time children reached the sixth class (15-20 years of age) they would become producers and would be ready to form happy and, in most cases, lasting unions with the opposite sex. The seventh class was to be the managerial group (20-30 years of age) responsible for keeping the production facilities in operation 8 hours a day, operated by 2 shifts of 4 hours each. Since this amount of work is all that would be necessary to supply the wants of the human race the only device left to be rectified would be for an increase of knowledge which it will be a pleasure to pursue. By age 40 (ninth class) it would not be necessary for a person to continue working. This class would be engaged in visiting the family commonwealths, giving and receiving knowledge as they travel from place to place. Ease of travel would be greatly increased and Owen even envisioned the possibility of aerial navigation. The tenth class was to be the governing body (age 50-55). The oldest member of this class would act as the social father of the community and the four next of age would serve as his assistants. The eleventh class was a kind of appeal board and the twelfth class (60 and older) would have no official duties to perform.[22]

This new era would be characterized by equality between the sexes and war would cease. Also, the new existence of man upon the earth would be without priests, lawyers, medical men, soldiers, money, competition, servitude, poverty, ignorance, anger, hatred, jealousy, falsehood, secrecy, celibacy, human-made marriages, prostitution and the fear of hell. During this age of millennial glory the spirit of universal love and charity for all will come to each person. Temperance in all things will be the practice of all with insincerity in word or action being unknown.

Toward the end of his life Owen gave an address to the heads of the universities, colleges, academies and schools in which he summed up his millennial vision and emphasized its heavy educational content.

> To teach man is to form the character of humanity. A New Dispensation is about to commence when 'old things shall pass away and all will become new'... A new base for the foundation of society is about to be established to give the pure spirit of universal charity to all from their birth, and retain it to daily application to practice through life, and thus to secure the permanent harmony of the world. In fact it will be now soon discovered that the required surroundings to form the character of every human being to become good, wise, and happy, that is, to be consistent in principle, spirit, and practice, will be to make (learning and teaching)... the chief business of every one to the end of our physical existence upon earth... And thus will be fulfilled the promise to the Jews of the Coming Messiah to overcome and conquer the world of evil; and to the Christians, of the Second Coming of Christ to overcome and conquer all error. Thus will be united... all the nations of the earth, into one family of good, wise, and happy,

full-formed men and women, having one language, interest, and feeling, all superior in their individual qualities, yet no two the same, but the combined distinct qualities of all contributing to constitute the one great humanity of the earth.[23]

NOTES

The research for this paper was aided by grants from the Institute for Advanced Christian Studies and The Indiana State University Research Committee.

1 There are several histories of millennialism, but they lack objectivity. Among those that have been used in the research for this paper are: E. B. Elliott, *Horae Apocalpticae; or a Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical* (4 volumes. London, 1847); LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (4 volumes. Washington, D.C.: The Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946-1954); George N. H. Peters, *The Theocratic Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus, the Christ* (3 volumes. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1957); Joseph A. Seiss, *The Last Times, or Thoughts on Momentous Themes* (Philadelphia, 1878); R. C. Shimeall, *The Second Coming of Christ* (New York, 1873); Daniel T. Taylor, *The Voice of the Church on the Coming and Kingdom of the Redeemer: A History of the Doctrine of the Reign of Christ on Earth* (Philadelphia, 1856); Nathaniel West, *Second Coming of Christ, Premillennial Essays* (Chicago, 1879); Shirley Jackson Case, *The Millennial Hope* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918); Abba Hillel Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927).

More objective works that deal with specialized periods of millennial thought are Alfred Cohen, "The Kingdom of God in Puritan Thought: A Study of the English Quest for the Fifth Monarchy" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1961); Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Michael Fixler, *Milton and the Kingdoms of God* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964); Aletha J. Gilsdorf, "The Puritan Apocalypse: New England Eschatology in the Seventeenth Century" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1965); Frederick Plotkin, "Signs From Sion: A Study of Radical Eschatology in England, 1640-1660" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1966); and two works by Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Millennium and Utopia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949) and *Redeemer Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

Books that deal with the history of doctrine also deal with millennialism in its many historical appearances. Samples of such works are: John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958); James F. Bethune-Baker, *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine* (London: Methuen & Co., 1923); Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1958); and Jean Danielou, *The Development of Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicaea* (Chicago: The Henry Regnery Co., 1964). For anthropological and comparative studies of millennialism notice Sylvia Thrupp (ed.), *Millennial Dreams in Action* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970); and Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth, A study of Millenarian Activities* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969). For a discussion of the American interest in the study of the phenomenon of millennialism see David E. Smith, "Millenarian Scholarship in America," in *American Quarterly*, XVII, 535-49.

2 Calvin branded those who were interested in millennialism with such names as "stupid" or "pervert." John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, edited by J. T. McNeil and translated by F. L. Battles (2 volumes. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), III, 25, 996. Note also Heinrich Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things*, translated by H. Knight (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1955). For the Munster incident see Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, pp. 252-86.

3 Robert G. Clouse, "Johann Heinrich Alsted and English Millennialism," in *Harvard Theological Review*, LXII (1969), 189-207.

4 Robert G. Clouse, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Thomas Brightman and Joseph Mede," in *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, XI (1968), 181-93. For details about Puritan millenarianism note Philip G. Rogers, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), and Peter Toon (ed.), *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel, Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1970).

5 One of the most famous orthodox Christian postmillennialists of the 18th century was Jonathan Edwards. A *suggestive* analysis of his ideas is contained in James Carse, *Jonathan Edwards and the Visibility of God*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967).

6 Loraine Boettner, *The Millennium* (Phladelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1966), p. 51.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

8 W. H. Oliver, "Owen in 1817: The Millennialist Movement," in Sidney Pollard and John Salt (eds.), *Robert Owen, Prophet of the Poor* (Lewisburg, Pa. Bucknell University Press, 1971), p. 166.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

10 Owen begins the supplementary volume to his *autobiography* with a discussion of these events. *The Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself*.. (2 volumes. London: Effingham Wilson, 1857, 1858), IA, 3-7. (Reprinted New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967).

11 Robert Owen, *Millennial Gazette*, February 10, 1858, p. 27.

12 *Life, op. cit.*, IA, 4.

13 *Millennial Gazette* , May 1, 1856, p. 26.

14 Robert Owen, *A New View of Society and Report to the County of New Lanark*, ed. V. A. C. Gatrell (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 129

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 109f.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 110f.

18 G. D. H. Cole, *A New View of Society and Other Writings* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1927), p. 98.

19 *Millennial Gazette*, October 15, 1856, p. 16.

20 Robert Owen, *The Inauguration of the Millennium* (London: J. Clayton & Son, 1855), p. 21.

21 *Millennial Gazette*, June 15, 1856, pp. 16f.

22 *Millennial Gazette*, January 1, 1857, pp. 12ff.

23 *Millennial Gazette*, August 1, 1857, pp. 35ff. For more information on Owen's millennialist outlook see Robert G. Clouse, "Robert Owen and the Millennialist Tradition," *Robert Owen's American Legacy*, ed. D. E. Pitzer (*Indianapolis:* Indiana Historical Society, 1972), pp. 42-55. A handy reference work that allows Owen to speak for himself on education is *Robert Owen on Education*, ed. H. Silver (Cambridge: *Cambridge* University Press, 1969).

ROBERT OWEN'S NEW HARMONY COMMUNITY: AN EXAMPLE OF COMMUNITARIAN EDUCATION

by

Gerald L. Gutek, Professor
Foundations of Education and History
Loyola University of Chicago

A Paper Presented at the History of Education Society Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, October 25, 1973

Robert Owen's New Harmony community was an attempt to create the co-operative commonwealth in North America through communitarian and educational means. Although Owen's Indiana experiment lasted only from 1825 to 1828, it has attracted the attention of such able historians as John Harrison and Arthur Bestor. Harrison, in the Quest for the New Moral World, saw Owen's venture as a trans-Atlantic episode in which British social theory was transported to America's environment. For Bestor, in Backwoods Utopias, New Harmony was a communitarian effort to create a new society on the frontier. This paper will examine Owen's concept of community as the cutting edge of his comprehensive theory of social and educational change.

Owen's prophesized "New Moral World" was to consist of inter-related circles of communities, whose inhabitants, dwelling in economic and social equality had abandoned the old immoral order of individualism and competition. In Owen's plan for New Harmony, education, in the sense of community life, and instruction, in the sense of schooling, were intimately related to communitarianism.

Owen's essential thesis asserting that man's character was made "for him and not by him" emphasized the formative role of man's social and cultural environment. The prophet of the "New Moral World" clearly recognized the effects of the culture in shaping human character and the role of education in enculturation. The environmental stimuli of the "old immoral world" had a deleterious effect on human character. In Owen's "New Moral World," human activities would be orchestrated into a harmonious, co-operative totality. The processes of communitarian enculturation would operate as one lived in and participated in the co-operative commonwealth's socializing activities. Owen's plan of communitarian education resembled the Athenian Paedeia whereby the well-rounded, generally educated man became a humane citizen by living in the polis. For Owen, New Harmony, would be the New World polis whose citizens would learn new ways of living in human association in a society constructed and governed according to rational principles. For Owen, instruction, in schools, was a part of the total educational process. Once it had been established, its schools would continue and perpetuate the community by providing the knowledge, skills, and values necessary for communitarian life.

Origins of Owen's Concept of Community

Owen's communitarian concept originated in the context of early nineteenth century industrialism. While the industrial revolution had stimulated rapid material change, economic growth, and increased production, it also brought personal alienation, social disequilibrium, and periodic economic crisis. Owen's efforts to solve these urgent problems led him to formulate his much more general and comprehensive communitarian theory of social and educational change.

The Owenite ideal of a co-operative commonwealth, of villages of unity and mutual co-operation, originated in the periodic economic distress of early nineteenth century England. The numbers of dependent poor had risen so rapidly that the archaic Poor Law of 1601 provided relief that was at best pitifully inadequate. Economic recession and unemployment were particularly severe in the cities where large numbers of people had massed to be near the factories and mills. Traditional paternalistic philanthropy of the agrarian squirearchy was inoperative in the urban situation. Owen realized that the alleviation of the distress of the economically disadvantaged and unemployed required the modernization of the relief laws.

Despite the presence of cheap frontier land, the United States was also experiencing economic recession in 1818 and 1819. Falling prices and widespread bankruptcies caused the Bank of the United States to adopt a policy of economic retrenchment. By 1819, economic pressures were being felt in such American cities as New York with 20,000 unemployed and Baltimore with 10,000.[1]

The problems of poor relief and unemployment initially caused Owen to transfer his attention from the local programs of improving the living and working conditions at New Lanark to broader concerns. A famous and prosperous industrialist, Owen first tried to use philanthropic measures to remedy working class' destitution and then turned to more pervasive programs of social theorizing and social engineering on a grand scale.[2] Owen's Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor, 1817, which diagnosed the causes of unemployment revealed his interest in general social reform.

Although he recognized that machinery did displace some men, he was not an anti-modernizer. Their displacement, he felt, was not an inevitable consequence of industrial modernization but rather an undesirable and unnecessary consequence of the competitive capitalistic economy. In a rational society organized on co-operative principles, mechanization would simultaneously reduce necessary labor time and ease burdensome toil. In his Report to the County of Lanark in 1820, Owen recommended the establishment of self-supporting Villages of Unity and Mutual Co-operation which would be open to all classes and not just the dependent poor. In these communities, all accommodations, housed in a parallelogram of buildings, would provide for all the resident's needs.

Owen's design for co-operative villages grew out of his experiences at New Lanark which originally had been a typical English factory colony. English industrialists, such as David Dale, Owen's father-in-law, had used these factory towns to create a labor supply near their enterprises and to maintain labor discipline. These factory villages satisfied early capitalism's manpower needs and reflected either the proprietor's paternalism or his callousness.

Upon taking control of the mills and town of New Lanark in 1799, Owen embarked on his well-known program of social and educational reform to improve the workers' condition. His community improvements, his schools, and his instructional and curricular innovations won fame for the "benevolent Mr. Owen" both in England and abroad. Owen success at New Lanark and the audience attracted by it made him self-assured as well as benevolent. He trusted in the correctness of his view of history and in his powers to organize and administer community life. Although differing considerably in their environments and populations, the Scottish factory town of New Lanark and the American frontier village at New Harmony were linked by the trans-Atlantic bonds of Owen's social, economic, and educational theories. While New Lanark was the prototype of the communities of Owen's "New Moral World," his plans called for more than isolated industrial villages. As the prophet of the coming social order, Owen would create a world of inter-related communities of equality and happiness. In this new world, New Harmony would become the exemplary city, the nuclear first city, the model of cities arising from communitarian design, effort, and genius.

Concept of Community

In Owen's theory, the community was the major agency of social change and reconstruction. Although his disciples attempted to create such communities in England, Ireland, and the United States, New Harmony was the largest and most ambitious Owenite community. As it became a comprehensive theory of social reconstruction, Owen's communitarian socialism promised to achieve radical social transformation by means of experimental communities without resort to violent revolution or to political organization.[3] Essentially, Owenism was a system of social reconstruction based on autonomous co-operative communities.[4] Communitarianism would usher in the New Moral World as both the isolated agrarian and the burgeoning city masses came to inhabit the better and more humane community, of two to three thousand inhabitants, occupying from four to six thousand acres, and collectively producing needed goods and services. Commenting on this utopian vision, Harrison says:

> At the back of most Owenite plans for community was a utopian vision of a propertyless, equalitarian society; of men working together in the fields, taking from the common stock according to their needs, and engaging in intellectual pursuits in their ample leisure time. In such a society there was neither luxury or want. Work was a

source of satisfaction and independence; and feelings of anger, envy and all uncharitableness were dismissed as unworthy of a rational being.[5]

Owen's concept of community carried at least three essential meanings in that it was: (1) a system of co-operative human relationships regarded as the most effective way of promoting human happiness and progress; (2) a system of communal ownership and governance; (3) a comprehensive program of social reform. It was education that united these social and economic aspects of Owenism into a comprehensive doctrine of social reconstruction. In its most general sense, Owen's communitarianism was a pervasive form of education. As he sought converts for the "New Moral World," Owen was the educator-propagandist; as he sought to prepare the converts for communitarian life, Owen was the educator-architect of utopia; as he planned to perpetuate and extend the new social order, Owen was the educator-statesman.

In his penetrating analysis in Backwoods Utopia, Bestor, who saw Owen as an educational reformer gradually turned communitarian, commented, "Rarely, if ever, had education been given such unqualified primacy in social reform. Rarely, if ever, has it been conceived of so completely in social terms."[6] Believing that man's condition depended on his knowledge, Owen held that the erroneous religious and classical schooling of the past led to human ignorance and misery. Holding educational and social reformation as synonomous, Owen believed that the only rational reform was educational reform.

The New Harmony community and its schools were laboratories in which Owen could inaugurate immediate social experimentation. Located in southwestern Indiana, New Harmony was believed by Owen to be sufficiently isolated so that the communitarian experiment could proceed without interference and subversion from the outside. At the same time, New Harmony was sufficiently accessible to visitors who could observe success and carry the good news forth to the wider society which would, then, willingly imitate the successful experiment.[7]

Owen advised the New Harmony communitarians to appoint a committee to conduct educational and propaganda activities in the broader society. The committee would travel and collect scientific and other information that would be useful to the community, and it would also correspond with the government and explain New Harmony's progress.[8] Owen, who regarded himself a social prophet, considered his role to be that of propagandizing for the new society through speeches, tracts, pamphlets, and books. His presence in the United States was to be that of spokesman for the "New Moral World." While he publicized communitarianism, others were to implement it on a practical basis at New Harmony.

Social and Economic Factors

Owen's New Harmony community can be seen in the context of early nineteenth century social and economic conditions. Fearing the unplanned and rapid growth of industrial cities as socially hazardous, Owen saw that the traditional community was disintegrating as factory workers were torn from the social and psychological moorings provided by the more stable, smaller, rural village. Working in social isolation on only a small phase of their product, the factory laborer's sense of craftsmanship and the aesthetic was impaired. The workingman's alienation from his labor, its product, and from his fellows contributed to personal and social disintegration. Further, a competitive ethic, nurtured by individual ownership and greed for private profit, led to exploitative relationships among human beings, particularly the owners of the factories and mills and those who worked in them. Owen's interpretation of contemporary events caused him to reject the individualized, atomistic, fragmented relationships that he associated with early nineteenth century laissez-faire capitalism.

Owen's "New Moral World" at New Harmony would be an organic society, an ethical joint family united by ties of sociality rather than blood, where the members worked for the common good and enjoyed the fruits of increased productivity. Like John Dewey, Owen believed that life's quality was enhanced in the totally integrated community which held more opportunities for personal and social growth. Owen's communitarianism sought to restore personal and social integrity by creating a society in which mutual interest, labor and life were pre-eminent. The mutually reciprocal, face-to-face, communitarian relationships were to create a sense of stability and identity for each individual within the integrated community organization. Thus, a man would live in a harmony that was new to his history. Freed from burdensome and time-consuming labor, men would be free to seek intellectual and aesthetic self-cultivation.

Rejecting individual ownership and private property, Owen generally stated that community goods, services, and property would be commonly held, administered, and distributed. Genuine equality meant the equal distribution of goods and services according to need. The whole community would enjoy the fruits of collective production and distribution. Although he clearly ennunciated the theory of common ownership, Owen continually changed his mind on its specific implementation. At New Harmony, the concept of community ownership was neither specifically defined, nor totally implemented. This uncertainty as to the degree of common ownership led to serious divisions in the community. Joseph Neef and Paul Brown, leaders of a self-styled democratic faction, condemned Owen as a paternalistic dictator who failed to fulfill the promises of his own doctrines.

Scope of Communitarianism

Believing that communitarianism was completely practical, Owen had no doubts as to his own abilities as a community designer and administrator. In February and March of 1825, Owen spoke to two joint sessions of Congress, attended by the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, President John Quincy Adams, and President-elect James Monroe. He lectured the American political leaders on general communitarian theory and his New Harmony designs. In a burst of enthusiasm, Owen issued a manifesto inviting potential communitarians to come to New Harmony. By May 1825, nine hundred persons had crowded into the Rappite town that Owen had purchased in Indiana. No preparations had been made for their arrival, their orientation, or their selection. Nevertheless, Owen optimistically wrote:

> ...the whole of this country is ready to commence a new empire upon the principle of public property & to discard private property & the uncharitable notion that man can form his own character as the foundation & root of all evil. For years past everything seems to have been preparing in an unaccountable & most remarkable manner for my arrival This new colony will be filled up ... by useful & valuable families and individuals. ...I believe the whole of the district north of the Ohio River comprising all the free States will be ripe for the change before the...year 1827.[9]

Owen believed that community building could begin immediately without mass support and with limited financial resources.[10] Owen felt that his resources and those of William Maclure, his associate, were adequate to inaugurate New Harmony as the model city in America and perhaps the world. If men had before them the example of the successful, prosperous, harmonious community, then, they too would want to share in communal conviviality.

New Harmony, a small, voluntary, experimental, microcosmic community was to be the scene of immediate,. peaceful, non-revolutionary social reform. A central model city, New Harmony would be the exemplar of satellite cities that would cluster about it in circle after circle of harmonious communities. Linked by rapid communication and transportation, all men would soon dwell in these socially related communities. Government's role would shrink to that of receiving, sorting, and disseminating useful information to the associated communities. The shared experiences of community life would lead to a world community, a global village, in which men spoke a universal language and followed a common life style. Inspired by a millennialist-like fervor, Owen believed that mankind would live as one family embracing all the nations of the earth.[11]

Originating as immediate remedies to alleviate English economic distress, Owen's plans for social reformation grew into a grand design that was international in scope. He predicted that a new day of internationalism and cosmopolitanism was dawning for all men. The

new man, living in communities of the new world, would no longer be divided by sect, region, or party, but would possess an ecumenical perspective that transcended these unnecessary and artificial barriers. Of such new men, Owen wrote:

> Patriotism, to him, will clearly appear to be practical injustice; and perceiving the folly and madness of all national contests,--the bad feelings and passions which they engender, the endless crimes which they create, the countless miseries which they inflict and the utter impossibility of improving mankind while this system continues,--he will earnestly devote himself to remove the causes which produce such irrational conduct.[12]

Owen on the Family

Since the environment formed character, Owen's reliance on the community as the basic agency of social reform required pervasive institutional reconstruction. Property would be commonly held, and the family structure would be radically transformed. Owen regarded the nuclear family as an archaic social remnant, supported by legal, economic, and religious sanctions. At New Lanark, Owen had often encountered opposition from parents who preferred their children to work in the mill rather than attend school. The nuclear family was an obstacle to rational education in that much instructional effort was undone by parental counter-instruction that implanted ignorance and superstition in the young.

Owen's treatise, The Marriages of the Priesthood of the Old Immoral World, challenged the concept of the indissolubility of marriage.[13] His views of marriage and family, expressed in the Declaration of Mental Independence and the Social System, published in the New-Harmony Gazette, were widely circulated in the United States. While his views on marriage and family were never actually implemented at New Harmony, they stimulated the sharpest attacks on the Indiana experiment. Owen's American critics condemned New Harmony as a den of immorality and of sexual promiscuity.

Owen believed that the western marriage pattern and nuclear family arrangment had originated as a social device of the privileged classes who sought to monopolize wealth and pass it on to their offspring as inheritance. The religious sanctions surrounding marriage, Owen regarded, as priestly machinations to maintain the established order and control the lives of others.

As an impediment to communitarianism, the nuclear family's individualism reinforced the social isolation and ignorance of its members. It occupied a single family dwelling which varied in detail according to the socio-economic class of the parties. Seeing themselves as rivals, one family competed against other families for wealth and status. Such unhealthy social patterns were pernicious to the proper

education of children whose social horizons were limited to their own immediate family.

In presenting his "Social System" to the New Harmony communitarians, Owen told them that marriage in the "New Moral World" would be based on mutual attraction, affection, and love of the spouses.[14] Without love, marriage debased human dignity and prostituted the sexual relationships between man and woman. In his "Declaration of Mental Independence," Owen stated:

> Marriage...must be contracted by both parties, solely with a view to their happiness. ...happiness can be enjoyed only when we associate with those for whom we cannot avoid having the most esteem, regard, and affection; it should be as reputable, and equally authorized by law to dissolve marriage when the esteem and affection cannot be retained for each other, and when the union promises to produce more misery than happiness... When however the parties are on a perfect equality in wealth, condition and education, and intimately acquainted with each other's thoughts and feelings before marriage; and when no motive whatever exists but genuine affection to induce the parties to unite; it is most likely that marriages so formed would be more permanent than they have ever yet been.[15]

Owen's views of marriage and family related to his ideas on the nature of the community, sexual relationships, women's rights, and education. As the beginning of a change from the individual to the communal social system, New Harmony was to inaugurate a change from single families with special interests to the community of mutual interests.

In Owen's communitarian design, there would be equality between the sexes. Child rearing would no longer be a time-consuming and burdensome task that depleted all the mother's energies. Like an extended joint family, the community would care for its children as the progeny of a common people. Older women, experienced in child rearing, would advise and assist the younger women and ease the anxieties that came from inexperience and isolation from adult society. Women could then truly be active and equal partners in the community of equality.[16] With the entire community responsible for the nurture and education of its young, the children would be educated in communitarian knowledge and values and thus escape the prejudices of the nuclear family.

As a system of social security, the community's general support and care for orphans, the aged, and infirm was to make charity, the dole, and poor relief obsolete. Owen's healthy community contained both the old and the young. Children, properly educated, guaranteed the perpetuation of the new social order. Community elders, acting as experienced elder statesmen, provided guidance and wisdom.

Owen's community plans called for the creation of communal

institutions that would eliminate the unnecessary duplication of facilities and labor. Although each married couple would have separate living quarters, there would be common kitchens, dining rooms, laundries, nurseries, and schools. Children, over age two, would be housed in dormitories.

Owen on Instruction

Although William Maclure was charged with establishing a Pestalozzian school system at New Harmony, Owen felt that Maclure's School Society had been ineffective. In the course of his educational and financial quarrels with Maclure, Owen proposed an alternate system of instruction. His lectures on "Instruction in the New System" closely paralleled the pedagogy used earlier at New Lanark.[17] Owen argued that the best instruction took place in common nurseries, dormitories, and schools. Effective instruction, he said, should be based on the child's interests in exploring his environment. There should be no resort to rewards and punishments other than those that arose from the natural consequences of action. In outline, Owen's system of instruction stressed objectives of physical and mental health; a thorough knowledge of the objects of the environment, human nature, natural history, and geography; facility in reading, writing, accounting, grammar, mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, astronomy, anatomy, history, domestic economy, and government; a working knowledge of agriculture and trade; skilled performance in a craft; and dancing, gymnastics, music, and art.

By carefully examining the functions and components of community life, the student was to be educated as a skilled producer and a careful consumer of the community's commodities. Believing that learning was intrinsically pleasurable, Owen saw communitarian education as a lifetime pursuit. The community would have such institutions of learning as schools, libraries, museums, lecture halls, ballrooms, and laboratories. As a total process, education--both in and out of school--would create and sustain the "New Moral World." As Owen stated:

> The world will thus be governed through education alone, since all other government will then become useless and unnecessary. To train and educate the rising generation will at all times be the first object of society, to which every other will be subordinate. ...[18]

Once established, the Owenite community, like the Athenian polis, would educate its residents. Communities, such as New Harmony, would be educative places where people learned the new morality by living it. As they educated the community's children, schools would raise up a new generation armed with communitarian rationality and values.

Although they inaugurated their community with enthusiasm and will self-assurance, the vision of the "New Moral World" faded after several false starts at New Harmony. The intellectuals gathered at New

Harmony busied themselves with constitution-making and theoretical disputation rather than construction. The communitarian impulse was stilled at New Harmony as Owen departed to return to England in June 1827.

Notes

1 David Harris, *Socialist Origins in the United States: American Forerunners of Marx, 1817-1832* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum and Co., 1966), p. 3.

2 John F.C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 20.

3 John F.C. Harrison, "Robert Owen's Quest for the New Moral World in America," in *Robert Owen's American Legacy*, Donald E. Pitzer, ed., (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1972), p. 31.

4 Arthur Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenity Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663-1829* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), p. viii.

5 Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World*, p. 58.

6 Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, p. 140.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

8 Robert Owen, "The Social System," in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, No. 22, February 26, 1827, p. 170.

9 Robert Owen to William Allen, New Harmony, April 21, 1825, MS no 56 in Owen Papers, Manchester, cited in Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, p. 114.

10 Harrison, "Robert Owen's Quest," pp. 31-32.

11 Robert G. Clouse, "Robert Owen and the Millennialist Tradition," in *Robert Owen's American Legacy*, Donald E. Pitzer, ed., (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1972), pp. 46-47.

12 Robert Owen, "The Social System," in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, No. 15, January 10, 1827, p. 113.

13 Owen's views on marriage and family appeared in greatest detail in *Lectures on the Marriages of the Priesthood of the Old Immoral World* (Leeds, 1835). Subsequent editions appeared in 1838, 1839, and 1840.

14 Owen, "Social System," in *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, No. 22, February 26, 1827, p. 170.

15 Robert Owen, "Declaration of Mental Independence," in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, July 12, 1826, pp. 330-331.

16 Owen, "Social System," in *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, No. 22, February 26, 1827, p. 170.

17 Robert Owen, "Instruction in the New System," in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, August 16, 1826, p. 390. For an exposition of the educational system of New Lanark, see Robert Dale Owen, *An Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark* (Cincinnati: Deming and Wood Printers, 1825).

18 Owen, "The Social System," in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, No. 15, January 10, 1827, p. 113.

A HOUSE DIVIDED: ROBERT OWEN AND WILLIAM MACLURE AT NEW HARMONY

by

Charles Burgess
Professor of History of Education
University of Washington

A paper presented at the History of Education Society Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, October 25, 1973

The reassembled shreds of Robert Owen's community at New Harmony seem to reveal a communal scheme strong in theory, weak in attention to operational detail. The fall of Owen's stunningly brief--and expensive-venture in utopianism has occasionally been charged to a fault of omission, one that transcended theory. Social experiments like Owen's, Sydney E. Ahlstrom concluded, were almost certain to collapse without "intense religious commitment" to serve as the spiritual cement of Community. With "only theory as an integrative force," the Owenites therefore had "an insufficient basis for communitarian success."[1] More commonly, however, historical post mortems have followed the line set by Arthur Bestor. If one credits theory with general coherence and completeness and leaves aside the moot question of religion, one can turn to a profitable probe of managerial competence. In that arena, faults of commission abounded at New Harmony. As Bestor convincingly noted, "Each of Owen's personal mistakes had been sufficient in itself to wreck the experiment." Taking a last metaphorical look at the debacle, Bestor makes his point persuasively: "In a firing squad, if all the guns are loaded, which man performs the execution?"[2]

By such accounts theory seems to have been the lonely potential strength of New Harmony. From an Ahlstrom perspective, the absence of religious commitment cut theory adrift; from a Bestor angle of vision, the presence of managerial incompetence left theory mired. One who would now question the soundness of theory risks being accused of striking a community when it is down. It seems clear, however, that the New Harmony experiment lacked even consistent theory, that the village was also wracked by repeated and calculated collisions between two well-developed and distinct theories and between two strong-willed and powerful advocates: Robert Owen and William Maclure.

In sharp contrast to his serious managerial difficulties, Owen has been credited with a few proper, even brilliant, moves. No move, reportedly, outshone Owen's success in persuading William Maclure to join forces with him at New Harmony. In this achievement Owen has been credited with "his most significant triumph in America."[3] From the perspective of the history of Pestalozzianism and western educational history the Owen-Maclure alliance merits lasting triumphal acknowledgement. From the perspective of Owen's immediate

communitarian plans, however, the presence of Maclure represented Owen's most grievous miscalculation. Educational theory proved to be the major divisive issue between these two contentious men.

Robert Owen had formulated a generally consistent and attractive theory of ideal community life, one that rested upon the plinth of education. Since 1800, when Owen became the manager of the cotton mills--and village life--of New Lanark, Scotland, he had gained an international reputation as an educational and social reformer. He impressed his audiences with his description of education as the flying wedge of his charge through the wall of social ignorance toward the "new era." In America, if Jacksonians found his communitarian views unpalatable, they joined the general chorus of commendation for Owen's concern for educational theory and practice. From the moment of his arrival in the United States in 1824, his widely publicized and well-attended lectures on education had excited more interest than any other theme on which he spoke.

Owen had in fact become a social reformer because of the "logic of his educational doctrine."[4] Upon the strength of his plan for the schooling of New Harmony children he rested his hopes for the ultimate success of his Indiana experiment. He came to New Harmony strong in the faith that he could so control "external circumstances" as to shape every child according to certain general specifications for cooperative enterprise in an ideal community. Owen came believing his program of education could be wielded "with the certainty of a law of nature."[5] But he also came believing that William Maclure and he shared the same educational doctrine.

Himself a widely known educator and builder of social systems, Maclure became by agreement and financial investment the director of the New Harmony educational programs. Not until after the two men agreed upon this general division of leadership did it become evident that Maclure's conception of ideal education worked at fatal cross-purposes with Owen's.

His own views on education firmly set, Maclure was as uncompromising as Owen. Since retiring at the turn of the century from eminently successful years in business and settling in Philadelphia, the London of America, Maclure had won wide acclaim as a leading scientist, philanthropist, and patron of social reform through Pestalozzian education.[6] In 1809 and 1818 Maclure published charts and reports of his pioneering geological surveys of the United States, the results of arduously thorough one-man treks through the states and territories of the young nation. From 1818 to 1829 he served on the council of the American Philosophical Society, having been a member of that influential body since 1799. In 1819 he became president of the Academy of Natural Sciences; and in that same year accepted the first presidency of the American Geological Society. Earlier Maclure had served the Jefferson Administration as a member of the American Spoliation Commission sent to France to arrange settlement of

American claims against the French government.

While in France, Maclure made his first studied observations of Johann Pestalozzi's exciting ventures in educational reform. And before he returned to America in 1805 he lured Joseph Neef, a teacher trained in the methods of the Swiss educator, to come to Philadelphia at Maclure's expense. For this wealthy businessman turned scientist saw himself first and foremost an educational reformer, one headed beyond meliorism to social reconstruction.

As Maclure established his reputation as a scientist, philanthropist, and friend of universal education, the broad outlines of a blueprint for human happiness began to form in his mind. Education became the key to the Good Society. In 1819, eager to test his ideas, he laid down his scientific activities in the United States and left for Spain. There he purchased a ten-thousand acre tract near Alicante and established an agricultural and industrial school, adapting the lauded administrative policies of Emmanuel Fellenberg and the pedagogical methods of Pestalozzi. But troubled Spain gave him little opportunity to test his theories about building a Good Society. In the midst of national insurrections, marauding guerrilla bands, monotonous uncertainty about the durability of the Cortes, and Spanish threats to re-establish the terrors of Torquemada, Maclure's educational venture sputtered fitfully; and in 1824 it ended abruptly with the seizure of Maclure's property by the Spanish government.

Owen liked what he knew about Maclure. Not without admirable powers of persuasion, however, did Owen convince Maclure to bind his fresh wounds and join in a new venture in utopianism at New Harmony. In 1825, with one disastrous investment of time, energy, and money barely behind him, Maclure found himself organizing another crusade for Community. Owen correctly sensed that, through their partnership, Maclure's connections in the international community of scholars would attract a distinguished faculty to New Harmony. With serious misgivings allayed momentarily, Maclure also delighted Owen by agreeing to invest money of his own in the utopian plan and by accepting responsibility for the proposed educational program of the community.

The first signs of disagreement seemed small when set against the exciting and imaginative plans laid for the school. With Maclure's prestige and infectious enthusiasm attracting famous scientists and educators to New Harmony, with Maclure enlisting such Pestalozzian specialists as Joseph Neef, Marie Duclos Fretageot, and Philip D'Arusmont and ordering a "vast collection" of books and scientific instruments to be shipped from New Orleans, New Harmony seemed to be building "the best library and the best School in the United States."[7] For its time it was indeed an outstanding educational establishment.[8] But it could not survive Owen's belated and determined attempt to regain control of an enterprise which rightfully regarded Maclure as its director.

Unfortunately for Owen's plan to launch world reformation by creating a "new human nature" in his Indiana laboratory school, his gratuitously proferred pedagogical principles failed to win the support of Maclure, Neef, and, as it apparently developed, of his own son, Robert Dale Owen.[9] Bitter debates rumbled with disastrous abandon over three scabrous issues: (1) the degree of uniformity to be imposed upon the child's nature; (2) character (will-formation) versus critical intelligence as the ultimate goal of education; and (3) the child as a passive vessel versus the child as a creature actively involved in the learning process.

One might reasonably conclude that both men thought themselves to be in essential pedagogical agreement when they formed their alliance in 1825. Both accepted as valid the argument that education was the critical tool with which to affect thorough-going social reconstruction. They shared a belief that environment was responsible for the shape imposed upon man's plastic nature. For them all human traits were, and must ever be, necessary results of conditions in the physical world. Never were human traits produced by an inner will "overcoming" or "succumbing" to external forces. Criminals, vicious and petty men, those who perpetrated crimes against their fellow men could not reasonably be blamed for their behavior. Maclure and Owen implicitly agreed with Thomas More's rhetorical argument in his Utopia: "If you allow people to be badly brought up and their habits to be corrupted little by little from childhood, and if you then punish them for crimes to which their early training has disposed them, what else is this, I ask, but first making them thieves and then punishing them for it?"[10] Maclure and Owen held it to be equally true that the virtuous could not reasonably expect praise for their (culturally determined) good conduct. It followed that society, in order to reach a state of true harmony, had to be seen and designed to serve as the conscious creator of those environmental conditions that necessarily shape individuals into desirable human beings.

Both partners pursued these ideas, but, as it became depressingly clear, in widely different directions. Owen fashioned them into a rigid syllogism in support of welfare corporatism. If human character is everywhere imposed upon the individual by external forces, and if society is the creator of those forces, then society bears full responsibility for the conduct and attitudes of its members. And the demands of the society dictate the general character to be stamped upon each of its members. Fixed firmly in Owen's mind, this argument became the goal, and education became the "most important" vehicle, for social reconstruction.[11] Thus armed, and further encouraged by long-standing success as an entrepreneur-educator at New Lanark, an ebullient Owen set out to establish an experimental station in social planning, to present the "new view" in the New World. In America he sought to replace the Jeffersonian suspicion of strong central government with his own utilitarian credo: That government is best which defines and provides the greatest happiness for the greater number. Happiness grew out of effective relations between paternal leaders and a co-operative, productive populace. At this point opened

one of the sores of dispute between Owen and Maclure.

Owen, ever the entrepreneur, believed that the successful industrialist knew best how to provide the greatest happiness in the social setting. Maclure believed that each "industrious worker" in the community should be entitled to participate in laying out rules of man's pursuit of happiness. Maclure laid special stress upon the individual's right to be educated for independent creative thought. Owen too praised "mental independence" and individual rights as noble ends of reform, but also declared that the needs of the enlightened community deserved the allegiance of its members. At bottom, Owen left no room for individualism. When notions of the individual and of the community inevitably collided, it was Owen's community that emerged unscathed; the individual invariably found the limits of "mental independence" and individual rights determined by community interests. Owen substituted "his Captains of Industry for Plato's Philosopher-Kings; he was saying that the organizational skills necessary for entrepreneurship in industry are also those needed in undertakings for the reconstruction of society."[12] One might legitimately call Owen a seminal philosopher of corporatism, an early advocate of the "organized man" in the corporate community. Owen looked at the psychological, social, and physical needs of his workers. And according to some twentieth-century observers, ideas similar to Owen's seemed to be guiding the United States into "a plurality of welfare communities, i.e., the corporations, rather than a single national welfare state. . ."[13] Certainly in the late nineteenth century, men who looked hopefully to communitarianism as the solution to the social and economic problems of the gilded age often agreed that reform could succeed best under the aegis of men "who have at least as much ability and intelligence as is required, for instance, in the successful management of a railroad or a bank or large manufactory."[14]

Owen represented management ideals; he educated for benevolent paternalism. The group was ultimately more important to Owen at New Harmony than its individual members; the co-operative character acquired by the community's children more important than the creative intelligence endowed on each. Owen's view of human nature reinforced this preference. Owen believed man's original nature to be good. Man is, indeed, "a delightful compound, containing the germs of unalloyed excellence. . ." and required but a "kindly soil and careful cultivation" to develop noble character.[15]

Owen beheld still other important innate dispositions within man: each child possessed a congenital love of truth and a faculty of altruism. Despite his talk about self-interest, he believed one of the "original faculties" of human nature to be "the desire to benefit our fellow creatures to the greatest possible extent."[16] Apart from this qualification, Owen generally accepted the learning theories of Locke and Helvetius. Despite his expressed respect for Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, he operationally rejected Rousseau's Emile as a model student and sustained much of the idea of learning as a receptive

process. He demonstrated at New Harmony a preference for views of the child as a passive being receiving quietly and accepting on faith the significance of the information passed on to him.[17] While he praised sense realism and physical exercise, he remained for more concerned with the peril of failing to give all children the same experiences. Certainly passive and uniform group experiences could be controlled better than active and spontaneous experiences in learning.

While Maclure accepted the Jacksonian concept of a class conflict (producer versus consumer) as a natural manifestation of self-interest under existing conditions of life, Owen backed away from the notion of pure self-interest as the engine of human enterprise as well as from its significant extension in class conflict. At bottom, he maintained, not only are all men good; they are moved by innate forces to seek conditions wherein that "desire to benefit our fellow creatures to the greatest possible extent" may have full play.[18]

Owen rebuked Maclure for encouraging New Harmony teachers in practices that thwarted Owen's plan to implant "similar habits" within each child. He tried in vain to convince Maclure to form "one well-digested arrangement" of education. But instead of keeping children together in one group while teachers took turns giving instruction, each of Maclure's teachers followed a semi-Rousseauian plan and took several children under his exclusive tutelage for their entire course of formal education. New Harmony teachers thus brought what Owen called "divisive" influences into the schools. Owen begged in vain for acceptance of his "most earnest desire, that all the children should be educated in similar habits and dispositions, and be brought up truly as members of one large family, without a single discordant feeling."[19]

Owen linked his concern for implanting similar attitudes and beliefs in all New Harmony children to a peculiar antagonism to the boarding school program that Maclure preferred and initiated. This inconsistency is particularly quizzical in light of the hodge-podge value conflicts so rife in the dissension-riddled village. New Harmony, after all, was not New Lanarck transplanted. Of their two educational theories, Maclure's possessed the greater consistency at this point. Regardless of the aim in education, Maclure's preference for boarding schools (a preference that Owen's son Robert Dale, came to share) emerged from a desire to eliminate serious value-conflicts so obviously common to a community in which so many adult members clung stubbornly to "unenlightened superstitions" and prejudices. Still Owen wanted, on the one hand, all children to be educated in similar habits and dispositions, and, on the other hand, wanted children to "be under the eye and inspection of their parents."[20] Perhaps Owen's was the more expedient plan; certainly some parents strongly objected to having their children taken to boarding school.[21] But Owen here trampled on one of Maclure's central requirements for sound education. Maclure built utopia with greater patience through education; Owen hoped to be recognized as the Benevolent Leader as at New Lanark and thereby settle a

tumultuous multitude into instant utopians. At bottom the disagreement raged over the educability (or docility) of adults. Maclure despaired of transplanting new values in older minds; Owen remained optimistic.

Joseph Neef, in support of Maclure, charged Owen with desiring to prepare youth for life in a "feudal barony" rather than in an enlightened community.[22] Wrapping Owen in dreary Old World imagery quickly caught on. Maclure called Owen a "Bonaparte" who sought to bring monarchy to America with his "superficial" knowledge of proper education.[23] Uniformity in subject, method, and procedure destroyed for Maclure all that was central in learning.[24] He sought first to bring the power of reason to the child, encouraged spontaneity in teaching, and accepted the development of character as a by-product of creative inquiry.

Owen realized too late that Maclure was a very unorthodox communitarian. For Maclure believed radical reformism to be but a young and unsteady movement in an atmosphere of widespread ignorance. New Harmony was a potential utopia, but its promise was at least one generation away. His associates in the school therefore tried simply to teach "the rising generation to think by a useful and practical education. . . ." Owen's dreams of universal harmony, chided Maclure, drifted into his mind from a world still "some ages" away.[25] Experimentation, respect for facts, and avoidance of opinion hopefully brought intelligence to Maclure's students; but Owen, confident that the kingdom was at hand, was impatient for consensus to reign in the community. In short, Maclure charged, Owen wanted the teachers to lay down dogma in the classroom. Maclure meanwhile began to doubt that one could build Utopia with anything but a boarding school filled with orphans.

Joseph Neef abhored Owen's encouragement of dogmatic teaching. "A rational man," he pointedly observed, "is a man who consults experience and acts in conformity with the results of his experience; whose actions are invariably based on his knowledge and not on his belief." Above all, youth should be trained "to gather knowledge by their own senses, to consult experience in every instance, to analyze, to examine, to investigate everything, to believe nothing."[26]

Maclure and his colleagues argued for rational encounters, inquiring and even skeptical behavior, suspended judgments, an experimental attitude--and for some eventual world in which honest and reasonable persons might openly and profitably disagree, redesign their collective purposes and embrace a process based on experimentation.

But belief, commitment, loyalty--these were the character traits Owen treasured! Owen rejected a pedagogy that cast confusion in the form of skeptical reasoning before the student. Owen wanted New Harmony children to grow in loyalty to community dictates. In return he promised to satisfy their physical needs. General happiness through

enlightened leadership was Owen's goal. Maclure's plan for a village full of mentally independent individuals amounted to schoolroom subversion. Although Owen gained wide repute in America for his opposition to ignorance, he actually remained innocent of any unswerving confidence in knowledge. Of the two men, only Maclure pressed steadily for intellectual curiosity, for the spread of knowledge as the most effective antidote to physical and mental slavery. Owen, however, found the institution of physical and mental slavery defensible, even worthy of preservation, when it promoted "happiness." The slaves of Jamaica, he once noted, served "humane masters" who satisfied their "animal wants." Therefore, he concluded, so long as reformers keep away from them, "these slaves cannot fail to be generally the happiest members of society for many years to come--until knowledge can be no longer kept from them." [27]

Profound differences over uniformity in instruction and the highest aim in education provided fuel for the third disagreement between Owen and Maclure. Owen's New Harmony opponents accused him of ignoring sound pedagogical principles by advocating the notion of learning as a receptive process and failing to encourage either the child's curiosity or his active partipation in learning. New Harmony teachers shared Maclure's enthusiasm for leading children into "discoveries" of their own and then capitalizing on the excitement and curiosity generated by these discoveries to send students further into each area of inquiry.

But Owen, the "most obstinate man" Maclure had known, and without "the smallest idea of a good education," preferred to teach precepts and abstractions.[28] He was impatient with sense realism. He seemed to ask: "Why follow every bend in the stream of sense realism as it meanders across the meadow of youth when a straight path can be cut across the field?" That the path and stream necessarily left the meadow at widely divergent points seemed of small consequence. If children thereby entered adulthood less able to rely on their own initiative they gained in the ability to accept leadership and counsel. But, stressing initiative and aghast at Owen's more conformist goals, Maclure sternly decried Owen's "parrot method of sticking incomprehensibles into the memory of Children as you would do pins into a pincushion..." and reaffirmed his preference for "the Pestalozzian System as taught by Mr. Neef."[29]

Owen and Maclure labored at an impossible task, one involving the creation of two significantly different good societies with shared raw materials. Maclure might have known this early; Owen later, if never fully. Maclure militantly opposed every form of learning that did not permit doubting; he held such pedagogy to be the instrument of tyranny over the mind of man. He firmly believed that the Good Society awaited a universal education in enlightened self-interest and rational skepticism. He pressed uncompromisingly for critical inquiry as the method and aim of learning. He beheld in the common man, the ubiquitous "industrious producer" of world wealth, the potential ability to exercise intelligent independent judgment on all matters.

Maclure sought to rear a new generation that would be intelligent, constructively critical of ideas and institutions, and ready to remold society by reasoned choice in the interest of human equality. With knowledge "as taught by Mr. Neef" made accessible to all, a moral life of equality of concern in all spheres of social enterprise would at last open to mankind. In the interests of that moral life to come and especially to teach young people of his own day to face vexing problems with forthrightness and intelligence, Maclure urged the New Harmony faculty to compare critically the ends served by his and Owen's disparate teaching methods and purposes.

Owen held forth consistently for "happiness" and pursued it as if it were a tacit obligation incurred by successful entrepreneurship. Guided by his inner light and the power of wealth, Owen celebrated corporate paternalism which schools were to serve by carefully inducting the child into the way of life sanctioned by the community management. He educated for happiness through perfected employee-employer relations in an ideal work-a-day world. He was to be the liberal employer. He would provide work, supervise its progress and return profits to the community, distribute the fruits of the corporate effort equally, care for the sick, and lovingly educate the children to take assigned places in the community's quest for happiness-in-perpetuity. He asked in return for gratitude expressed only in whole-hearted co-operation.[30]

One might well suspect that a full series of carefully conducted case studies of "company towns" and communities dominated by one fairly stable corporate industry would confirm that Robert Owen, as an important pioneer of corporatism, laid plans more prophetic than Maclure's. Owen could lead; he could not follow or even share leadership. Paternalism meant progress in his lexicon. Supporters of his views could not be impressed by critics who noted, "In so far as philanthropists are cut off from the influence of the Zeitgeist, from the code of ethics which rules the body of men, from the great moral life springing from our common experiences, so long as they are 'good to people' rather than 'with them,' they are bound to accomplish a large amount of harm. They are outside the influence of that great faith which perennially springs up in the hearts of the people, and recreates the world."[31]

Owen's communitarian views, when set against Maclure's, were easily the more orthodox. Preachment and positive reinforcement of tribal beliefs had by then become common pedagogical devices in utopian plans. Plato imposed similar restrictions upon teaching in his Republic; and Augustine had made a seminal link between pagan and Christian planners by stressing the will more than reason and elevating belief above understanding. Many religious communitarians had followed suit dutifully and logically.

Suppose that Plato and Augustine had purchased and peopled communities and attempted to control them according to their grand

purposes. I have no idea how they might have fared. But had a Plato undertaken such a venture with an Aristotle as a partner in complete control of the educational program, what odds would a Jimmy the Greek have given for the success of a Plato's purposes? Or if an Augustine had moved into a similar venture with an Abelard as partner?

From the outset, the Owen-Maclure alliance carved the mark of tragedy upon Owen's communitarian venture. Theory became plural, disheveled, and left no prospect for unified community practice. Perhaps the alliance amounted to more than one additional error to add to the list of Owen's miscues, more than one extra loaded gun to add to the firing squad. Owen's union with Maclure might have been sufficiently suicidal to make one wonder whether the firing squad had pumped its shots into a cadaver.

Notes

1 Sydney E. Ahlstron, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 498.

2 Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 227f.

3 *Ibid.*, 134.

4 "Education and Reform at New Harmony; Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot," Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., ed., Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, XV (1948), 292.

5 Robert Owen, *Essays on the Formation of the Human Character* (London, 1940), 6. The material cited was first published in 1812.

6 Some sources put the date of Maclure's "retirement" in America at 1799. See J. Percy Moore, "William Maclure--Scientist and Humanitarian," American Philosophical Society *Proceedings*, XCI (1947), 236; and Charles Burgess, "William Maclure and Education for a Good Society," *History of Education Quarterly*, III (June, 1963), 58-76.

7 *Indiana as Seen By Early Travelers*, Harlow Lindley, ed. (Indianapolis, 1916), 411.

8 For a detailed summary of its achievements see George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement* (New York, 1905), ch. I, *passim*; also *Readings in Indiana History*, Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker, eds. (Indianapolis, 1956), 235; Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 179-200, *passim*.

9 Robert Owen, *Life of Robert Owen* (1857), with introduction by M. Beer (New York, 1920), xii; "Education and Reform," 362, 367f, 385, 387f, 394f; Will S. Monroe, *History of the Pestalozzian Movement in the United States* (Syracuse, 1907), 122; Paul Brown, *Twelve Months in New Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1827), 100-116, *passim*.

10 Thomas More, *Utopia*, H.V.S. Ogden, ed. and tr. (New York: Crofts Classics, 1959), 11. More said it early; but contemporaries of Owen and Maclure said if often. The two men shared a popular conviction in the early nineteenth century. See, e.g., David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1971), 82f *et passim*.

11 Robert Owen, *Owen's American Discourses: Two Discourses on a New System of Society...*(London, 1825), 34; also see Owen's address in *New Harmony Gazette*, November 22, 1826.

12 J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, *The Western Intellectual Tradition From Leonardo to Hegel* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), 469. 450-471, *passim*.

13 *Ibid.* 467, 467n; see also William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (Garden City, 1957), 8; G.D.H. Cole, *Robert Owen* (London, 1925), 105.

14 William Alfred Hinds, *American Communities* (New York: Corinth Books, 1961), 163. This volume was originally published in 1878.

15 *New Harmony Gazette*, January 10, 1827.

16 Owen, *Owen's American Discourses*, 9.

17 *Ibid.*; see also Robert Owen, *A Diagram, Illustrative of the Formation of the Human Character, suggested by Mr. Owen's Development of a New View of Society* (London, 1824, *passim*; Cole, *Owen*, 100; "Education and Reform," 367f, 387f; Brown, *Twelve Months* 100f, 107-116; Monroe, *History of the Pestalozzian Movement*, 122; Robert Dale Owen, *Twenty-Seven Years of Autobiography: Threading My Way* (New York, 1874), 195f.

18 Owen *Owen's American Discourses*, 9; *New Harmony Gazette*, January 10, 1827. Robert Dale Owen, however, understood his father to be a believer in self-interest; indeed Owen the Elder did at times reinforce this conclusion. But Robert Owen assuredly placed important restrictions upon the doctrine of self-interest by insisting that an altruistic desire to serve others was one of man's "original faculties." See Owen, *Threading My Way*, 259, e.g.

19 From an Owen address delivered May 6, 1827, as quoted by Brown. *Twelve Months*, 100f.

20 Owen, *Owen's American Discourses*, 34.

21 *Readings in Indiana History*, 233.

22 Brown, *Twelve Months*, 109.

23 "Education and Reform," 362, 366, 368. Neef best expressed his views on education in his *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education*. . (Philadelphia, 1808).

24 Maclure made abundantly clear his opposition to lock-step teaching in his collection of *Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Producers*, 2 vols. (New Harmony, 1831-1837), e.g., I:62, 447, II:29, 58, 287, 524, *et passim*. For an analysis of the education-society relationship developed in Maclure's *Opinions* and other papers which are reposited at the Workingmen's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana, see Burgess, "William Maclure." Regarding the *Opinions*, it should be noted that there are extant editions of this work in three- as well as two-volume sets. For an explanation of this bibliographical problem consult "Education and Reform," 407f, n.11, and Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 146, n.48. See also Monroe, *History of the Pestalozzian Movement*, 122.

25 "Education and Reform," 387f. Emphasis mine.

[26] Quoted by Brown, *Twelve Months*, 114f.

[27] Quoted by Rowland Hill Harvey, *Robert Owen: Social Idealist* (Berkeley, 1949), 147. Emphasis mine.

[28] "Education and Reform," 376, 385.

[29] *Ibid.*, 367f.

[30] Owen "could lead, but could not follow; could organize, but could never really co-operate. He demanded from all his associates an unquestioning obedience to his inner light." Cole, *Owen* , 238f; also see Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen*, 2 vols. (London, 1906), I:343.

[31] Jane Addams, "A Modern Lear," in *American Social Thought*, Ray Ginger, ed. (New York 1961), 200. In any number of "company towns," however, plans apparently similar to Owen's and Pullman's have been carried to successful fruition. Repeatedly the local company's interest in economic gain, community efficiency, harmony, and happiness presumably has been heavily promoted in the "public" schools. With respect to such schools, particularly those of the last two generations, broader questions are now being raised. For example, the manner in which welfare capitalism contributed to and encouraged the wider national adoption of certain elements of Progressive Education stands as a highly suggestive question in the history of American education. A series of carefully conducted case studies of "company towns" and communities similarly dominated by a fairly stable corporate industry, of the rhetoric of welfare capitalism as accepted by influential segments of the business community, and of the ways in which company-dominated schools might have appropriated and advertised Progressive Education as a desirable way to serve the community (and the company) should add much to understanding of the spread of progressivism in American education. Perhaps such studies will confirm that Robert Owen, as a seminal philosopher of corporatism, planned communities more prophetically and "progressively" than has been assumed.

PART III

PROCEEDINGS

PART III

The 1974 Meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society

Friday and Saturday
October 25-26

Loyola University of Chicago, Regis Room
Marquette Center
820 North Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois

Afternoon Session Friday, October 25, 1974

2:00- 3:00 p.m.
Registration, Coffee Hour, Book Display

3:00- 5:00 p.m.
Afternoon Program

CHAIRPERSON David Ripley, Vice President and Program Chairman, Midwest History of Education Society

SPEAKER Rev. Charles J. Carmody
Loyola University

TOPIC **The Origins Roman Catholic Catechesis in the United States (1776-1799)**

SPEAKER James Hendricks
Northern Michigan University

TOPIC **"Be Still and Know!" Quaker Silence and Dissenting Educational Ideals, 1740-1812**

Evening Session Friday, October 25, 1974

5:00 p.m.
Social Hour, Presidents' Room

6:00 p.m.
Dinner at the Georgetown Room

7:00- 9:00 p.m.
After Dinner Presentations

CHAIRPERSON Frank C. Nelsen, President
Midwest History of Education Society

WELCOME John M. Wozniak, Dean
School of Education, Loyola University

THEME OF THE EVENING PROGRAM
The History of Education
Past, Present and Future

SPEAKER Carl Gross
Michigan State University

TOPIC **History of Education Today**

SPEAKER Adelia M. Peters
Bowling Green State University

TOPIC **History of Education in the Future: Obsolescence or Relevance**

SPEAKER W. Richard Stephens
Greenville College

TOPIC **Outline of A Model For American Educational Historiography**

Morning Session Saturday, October 26, 1974

9:00-11:00 a.m.
Morning Program

CHAIRPERSON Rosemary V. Donatelli, Secretary and Archivist
Midwest History of Educational Society

SPEAKER Charles E. Alberti
Loyola University

TOPIC **Brooke Farm: A Lesson in Cooperative Education**

SPEAKER Frank C. Nelsen
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

TOPIC **A Study of Four Northern European Immigrant People, and the Assimilation Process: Some Current Observations**

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon
Business Meeting
Frank C. Nelsen, Presiding

MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY

Minutes of the Meeting
October 26, 1974

The Midwest History of Education Society convened its business meeting on Saturday, October 26, 1974 at 11:30 a.m. in the Regis Room, Loyola University of Chicago. President Frank C. Nelsen. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, presided.

The minutes of the 1973 meeting were read by the Secretary, Rosemary V. Donatelli, Loyola University, and approved. The Vice President, David Ripley, Northern Illinois University, moved that the Society express its formal appreciation to Loyola University as host institution for the Midwest History of Education Society. Adelia M. Peters, Bowling Green State University, seconded the motion which passed unanimously. Members also expressed their appreciation to David Ripley for the excellent program he prepared for the conference.

President Nelsen presented the nominees for officers for 1974-75. W. Richard Stephens, Greenville College, moved that the Secretary cast a unanimous ballot for the entire slate. This motion was seconded by Pier DePaola, Indiana University. Those elected were David Ripley, President. Rosemary V. Donatelli, Vice President; and B. Edward McClellan, Secretary.

Rosemary Donatelli solicited suggestions for the 1975 program and Adelia M. Peters reminded the members of the need for suggestions and comments for both the 1975 meeting and that of 1976 which might once again be a joint meeting with the National History of Education Society.

The dates of October 24-25 were set for the 1975 meeting again to be held at Loyola University of Chicago.

President Frank Nelsen adjourned the meeting at 12:00 noon.

Respectfully submitted,

Rosemary V. Donatelli
Secretary

MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY

DIRECTORY OF ATTENDANCE 1974

Charles Alberti
Loyola University of Chicago
Ladtongbai Bhuapirom
Loyola University of Chicago
Rosemarie Bogal
Loyola University of Chicago
Jane Buresh
University of Illinois-Chicago Circle
Rev. C. J. Carmody
Loyola University of Chicago
Ronald Cohen
Indiana University Northwest
Stephen M. Colby
Loyola University of Chicago
Peter M. Collins
Marquette University
Pier DePaola
Indiana University
Rosemary V. Donatelli
Loyola University of Chicago
Harold B. Dunkel
University of Chicago
William Eaton
Southern Illinois University
Glen E. Gabert
Moraine Valley Community College
Carl H. Gross
Michigan State University
James D. Hendricks
Northern Michigan University
Alan H. Jones
Ball State University
Rev. W. P. Krolikowski
Loyola University of Chicago
Mark Krug
University of Chicago
Sr. Norlene Kunkel
University of Notre Dame
Frances Kung
Loyola University of Chicago
Thomas J. Loyal
Indiana University
Russell Marks
University of Indiana
Robert L. McCaul
University of Chicago
B. Edward McClellan
Indiana University
Daniel J. McDougall
Loyola University of Chicago

John Mook
Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh
J. Geoffrey Moore
Michigan State University
Frank C. Nelsen
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Lee Owens
Loyola University of Chicago
Adelia M. Peters
Bowling Green State University
Gregory J. Pozavick
Southern Illinois University
Edward Rutkowski
University of Northern Iowa
Stephen A. Schmidt
Concordia Teachers College
W. Richard Stephens
Greenville College
Terrence J. Sullivan
Loyola University of Chicago
Jasper J. Valenti
Loyola University of Chicago
Roger L. Vernon
Seward Elementary School
Donald R. Warren
University of Illinois-Chicago Circle
Andrew Wawrzyniak
Loyola University of Chicago
Rev. Robert Zimney
Loyola University of Chicago